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LOYALTY AT THE SOUTH.

From the N. Y. Tribune.

THE Legislature of South Carolina, at its recent short extra session, took an important and laudable step toward the true restoration of the Union in superseding or softening all acts which degrade and oppress the majority of her people because of their race and color. We have already chronicled the fact, but the act is one that deserves to be placed on record. Here are its exact terms:

"AN ACT TO DECLARE THE RIGHTS OF PERSONS LATELY KNOWN AS SLAVES AND AS FREE PERSONS OF COLOR.

"Be it enacted, etc., That all persons hitherto known in law in this State as slaves, or as free persons of color, shall have the right to make and enforce contracts, to sue, be sued, to be affiants and give evidence, to inherit, to purchase, lease, sell, hold, convey and assign real and personal property, make wills and testaments, and to have full and equal benefit of the rights of personal security, personal liberty and private property, and of all remedies and proceedings for the enforcement and protection of the same, as white persons now have, and shall not be subjected to any other or different punishment, pain or penalty, for the commission of any act or offence, than such as are prescribed for white persons committing like acts or offences.

"Sec. 2. That all acts and parts of acts specially relating to persons lately slaves and free persons of color, contrary to the provisions of this act, or inconsistent with any of its provisions, be and the same are hereby repealed; Provided, That nothing herein contained shall be construed to repeal so much of the eighth section of an act entitled 'An act to establish and regulate the domestic relations of persons of color, and to amend the law in relation to paupers and vagrancy, ratified the twenty-first day of December, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-five, as enacts that marriages between a white person and a person of color shall be illegal and void.'"

—This is a most comprehensive and admirable act; and it is cheering to note how few words of righteous legislation will dispose of whole volumes of the other sort. Here is a whole law-library of acts, decisions, digests, opinions, and rulings, blotted out by two sections of justice.

The South Carolina whites, being a decided minority of the whole people, still retain in their hands a monopoly of office and political power. No colored person can vote or sit on a jury, or be even a pathmaster, as their Constitution and laws now stand. This is as unwise as selfish. If the whites had seen fit to enact that in all cases of legal controversy between blacks, the issue should be tried before a black jury, or at least that the parties might have a black jury if they both desired it, they would have shown greater wisdom and forecast, and would have made a beginning toward educating their colored people for the duties that will inevitably devolve on them. It is a pity that statesmen think they cannot afford to do so well as they know.

As to the punishment of intermarriages between whites and blacks as a high crime, we could abide it with greater patience if immoral, lewd connections between such persons were likewise punished. Let any State forbid and punish these connections, and she may make kindred marriages as penal as she chooses. But, so long as South Carolina allows her wealthy, educated white men to keep colored mistresses with impunity, not even rebuked by the law, so long, as least, will her law against intermarriages be a scandalous wrong, and she shall be exhorted to repent and amend.

Of course, we all understand that the good intent of this new act will not be realized at once. Whites will continue to oppress blacks in spite of the new act; and their superior wealth, intelligence, and monopoly of power will enable them to do it with comparative impunity. But public opinion follows law, and gradually molds practice into conformity to it. At first, a black sueing a white may be defeated in court through the sympathy of white officers, jurymen, etc.; but the tendency toward improvement will be steady and inevitable, and, ere many years have passed, the laws of South Carolina will be even juster than now, as well as better enforced. We rejoice that she is on the right road, and has just taken a long stride thereon.

—Now let us turn to Texas, the most remote and least thoroughly whipped State in the late Confederacy. Her Legislature met August 6—before the Maine election, while that of South Carolina met directly thereafter. The very first bills submitted to it proposed an appropriation of $50,000 to buy wooden legs for Confederate soldiers who had lost their legs in the late Civil War. Common decency would have required that this bill be so worded as to provide wooden legs for all Texans so unfortunate as to need them; but common decency does not rule in that Legislature. The hearty Unionists of Texas are at least one-fourth of her people, and own their full proportion of property; and it is not right to tax them to provide wooden legs especially for the rebels who hunted, tortured, maimed, and murdered Unionists because of their loyalty. Let the ex-rebels of Texas supply their soldiers with wooden legs—mahogany, if they will—they ought to do it, if it takes half their property—but they have no right to make Unionists foot the bill. Yet the resolve was promptly adopted, and we presume some Yankee is by this time supplying (through a Southron) the legs.

On the seventh day of the session, in the House—

"Mr. Jackson offered a resolution instructing the Committee on Public Lands to inquire into the expediency of donating 320 acres to each Confederate soldier, who, by reason of wounds received in the late war, is incapacitated for labor, and to report by bill or otherwise. Adopted."

—Here, again, is the common property of all Texans taken to reward men for fighting to dissolve the Union. It would have been barely decorous to make this appropriation to *all* soldiers, Union or rebel, who had been disabled in the late war; but no—the reconstructed provide for rebels alone. It is audacious.

A bill was next submitted to the House proposing the establishment of County and District Common Schools (for whites only), with a proviso that no Yankee Puritan shall ever be employed therein. We have not learned its fate, nor that Texas has yet enacted that, whenever the play of Hamlet is performed in that State, the part of Hamlet shall be omitted.

In the Senate of this *loyal* State, the following proceedings were had:

"Senator Shelley introduced a resolution reciting that the 'State Cemetery' has been lately used for the interment of dead Federal soldiers. The Senator thinks this ought to be remedied. The cemetery has only been used heretofore for the manes of the distinguished sons of Texas. Here reposed Burleson, Hemphill, McCulloch (Ben.), and McCloud. It was not fit that 'any one' should be laid there by their side without consulting the State. He moved that a tract of government land be appropriated for the use of the United States government for this purpose, and that the said Federal soldiers be disinterred and removed thence.

"Senator Foscue thought the 'vile dust' of these mercenaries was unworthy to be mingled with that of the distinguished heroes and statesmen of the Lone Star State. The State Cemetery should not be polluted by the entrance into its sacred precincts of such trash. It is a notorious truth the soldiers of the regular army are the very 'scum of the earth.' Even admitting them otherwise, it was a place set aside *especially* for the 'ashes of Texans,' and he hoped it would never be used for any other purpose. Referred to a Special Committee."

—Isn't it a wonder that the North should distrust the loyalty of these delightful exemplars of the beneficent influence of "My Policy."

The next demonstration was made by Senator Sauffley, as follows:

"Whereas, During the late civil war between the Northern and Southern sections of the United States, thousands of the sons of Texas laid down their lives upon distant battle-fields in defence of what they sincerely believed a sacred and inalienable right; and

"Whereas, The rights of sepulture have not been properly bestowed upon the manes of many of those *noble martyrs to the cause of their country*, and their sacred forms now lie undraped and unin-terred, exposed to the bleak storms of Northern Winters and the sultry suns of Southern Summers; therefore be it

"Resolved, That —— acres of land, out of the 100,000,000 acres belonging to this *sovereign State*, be given for the purpose of laying out a cemetery, in which shall be deposited the remains of her aforesaid children; that the Governor of the State be, and is hereby authorized to appoint some suitable person (who shall be allowed to appoint such assistants as he may deem necessary), whose duty it shall be to visit every battle-field upon which Texas troops have been engaged during the late war; and that said agent use every endeavor to identify and collect the remains of said Texas soldiers, and bring them to be buried in the bosom of the 'people they loved so well.'

"That this resolution apply as well to those soldiers who died while prisoners of war, of wounds received in the army, or disease contracted in Northern prisons.

"That the sum of $—— be appropriated out of any money not otherwise appropriated for the purpose of carrying out this resolution.

"Read first and second times, and referred to the Committee on State Affairs."

The Senate thereupon appropriately passed to the orders of the day, as follows:

"Orders of the day.—A joint resolution, assuring the President of the United States of the loyalty of the people of Texas, and asking that the troops now quartered in the interior be removed to the frontier, was taken from the President's desk, read a second time, and ordered to be engrossed.

"Upon motion of Senator Stell, the rule was suspended, resolution put upon its third reading, and passed."

—We have already stated the fact that Judge John Hancock, who at first had a "sure thing" of being a U. S. Senator from Western Texas, was ultimately defeated because, though a rebel, he was shown to have "caved" before the final collapse of the rebellion. Here is the record of the doings in caucus that "fixed" him:

The caucus met Sept. 3—Judge Ashbel Smith in the chair. Hancock's supporters had a clear majority, and defeated a motion to adjourn.

"Senator Record then very defiantly asked if any charges were preferred against the Hon. John Hancock. Whereupon, some member inquired if the Hon. Mr. Short of Shelby was present? Mr. Short of Shelby *was* present. The member then asked the Hon. Mr. Short of Shelby to read a correspondence it was understood he possessed.

"Mr. Short of Shelby stated that it was true he had a correspondence in his pocket which was not intended for public use, but which contained facts in regard to Judge Hancock and his course in the Federal lines in 1864—facts which he had elicited for his own satisfaction, and to satisfy his friends and his constituents as to the course he should take in the Senatorial election; but, as a public call had been made upon him for these facts, and as he had nothing to conceal in this matter, he would read a letter from Major A. H. Longley, late of the 1st U. S. Texas Cavalry, in reply to a letter addressed to that gentleman by himself and one of his colleagues, the Hon. Mr. Stroud. The letter of Major Longley was in reply to a request to state what Judge Hancock had done after he had left the State in 1864. Major Longley replied that Judge Hancock had arrived in New Orleans, La., in July, 1864, with are commendation signed by some of the officers of the 1st Texas Cavalry, and very strongly endorsed by Maj.-Gen. Herron, that Judge Hancock should be made a Brigadier-General and authorized to raise troops in Texas; that Gen. Canby had also strongly indorsed the recommendation, in which Gen. Hamilton, Military-Governor of Texas, had joined, and that he, Longley, had been detailed by Gen. Canby to accompany Hancock to Washington to further his object there; that Hancock had seen the Secretary of War and afterward President Lincoln, and had earnestly urged them to send an army to Texas, which they said could not be done. He then requested that 5,000 cavalry might be placed under his command as a Brigadier-General, and lauded at Indianola, to make a raid into Texas, where he would raise a large force to aid them. Nor could this be done, nor could the Judge be made a Brigadier, on account of the many veteran Colonels awaiting promotion. But the Secretary of War, through the Provost Marshal-General, authorized Gen. Canby to enlist two regiments of white cavalry, and four of infantry, white or colored, and to commission the Judge as Brigadier, and put him in command of any Brigade he might himself enlist, etc. The order of the Provost Marshal, Gen. Fry, was also read, and one of the commissions issued to a recruiting officer appointed by Judge Hancock. Here the Hon. Mr. Short of Shelby rested his case, the only charge made being *Hancock had in* 1864 *been loyal to the government.*

"Mr. Record tried to defend Judge Hancock, and apologize for his loyalty; but the documents seemed to have sadly fuddled him. He finally pitched into the witness that had been introduced, whom he called renegade, traitor to his country, and several other sweet names, which only a good rebel can let off. When he concluded, Mr. Munson of Brazoria was loudly called for.

"Mr. Munson had no charges to bring against Judge Hancock as to his past course, but there was a great principle involved in this election, to which he wished to call the attention of the people. For one, he was unwilling to vote for or elect any one who was not with the people, and of them, not only at the present time, but in the past—one who not only stood by them in the dark and gloomy past, but who had also been with them in the principles upon which this great civil war had been fought. He would be untrue to the gallant dead whose bones lay bleaching upon so many glorious battle-fields were he to vote for any one who had not sympathized with them, upon the idea for which they had laid down their lives, believing, as they did, that their cause was just and holy. He, for one, believed that good faith to the gallant dead and good policy both united in such a choice. He thought that no one who could take the test-oath should be elected, but that a representative man should be chosen. We could then appeal to the North with an honest face, for having been true to ourselves, and promising to be true to our national relations in the future, we would show that we could be trusted because we were worthy of trust. As to the terrible scenes of the past, the South had much to forgive, and for one he was ready to forgive, but at the same time he could never forget. Time could never eradicate the past from his heart. This is but an outline of what was said by Mr. Munson, who spoke with much feeling, and with all the venom of an unrepentant and unreconstructed rebel. The idea of Mr. Munson is that secession is the true Constitutional doctrine, and as true to-day as it was, as he says, 'in the days of Jefferson and Madison, who proclaimed it.'"

—There was more talk—lots of it—but "Mr. Short" had done the business for Judge Hancock, and the caucus ultimately fizzled out, the Judge's friends not daring to insist on a ballot. The two Houses proceeded to an election next day, when the Hon. David G. Burnett was chosen; the vote standing—Burnett (rebel clear through), 65; Hancock (rebel who fainted by the way), 43; E. M. Pease (radical), 7: Burnett's clear majority, 15. O. M. Roberts (who presided over the Convention that passed the ordinance of Secession) was then chosen Senator from Eastern Texas, by 61 votes to 49 for B. H. Epperson (also rebel). Mr. Roberts presided also over the recent Convention that assumed to restore Texas to the Union, and objected therein to exacting an oath of allegiance to the Union, on the assumption that the Convention was a sovereign body, and should take no oath of allegiance to any power whatever.

—The Legislature of Texas having rejected the Constitutional Amendment submitted to the States by Congress, her Secretary of State, by direction, returned it to the State Department at Washington, with a message importing that Texas had no use for it. So far, so good. Now we insist that it shall not be sent her again until she ascertains that she *has* a use for it, and signifies in plain terms her consciousness of the fact. One such insult to Congress and the loyal States should suffice; or, at all events, another should not be invited.

IMPEACHMENT.

From the N. Y. Independent.

IMPEACHMENT is resorted to so rarely in our government that we have thought proper to discuss some of the points connected with it, which may not be familiar to our readers.

In providing for the trial and punishment of delinquent public officers, the Constitution of the United States has borrowed from England the peculiar process of legislative impeachment. The House of Representatives has the sole power of impeachment, and the Senate the sole right to try impeachments. No forms or methods of proceeding are prescribed by the Constitution, because the procedure is quite aside from ordinary judicial process, and must vary to meet the necessity of each case. As the great Selden says, "These cases are to be ruled by the law of Parliament and not by the common or civil law." The language of the Constitution is, "The President, Vice-President, and all civil officers of the United States, shall be removed from office, on impeachment for and convictions of treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors."

The House has been called, in this connection, the Grand Inquest of the nation, which it is in a parliamentary way, not bound by the usages of courts, but making its own precedents, wherever justice and the public good require new methods. The House has been likened to a grand jury, which it is in regard to the presentation of charges, but it is also the public prosecutor in the management of the trial. It is not bound by any such rules as if its determination to impeach was of the nature of a judgment after trial; because, as Littleton saith, "This is not a House for definitive judgment, but for information, denunciation, or presentment;" and therefore it is settled that "common fame" is a sufficient ground for ordering an inquiry, which may lead to impeachment.

In Judge Samuel Chase's case, 1804–5, the statement by Mr. Randolph that he was convinced of the existence of grounds of impeachment, led to the appointment of a committee of inquiry. The first committee was directed "to inquire into the official conduct of Samuel Chase, one of the associate justices of the Supreme Court," and report whether he had "so acted in his judicial capacity as to require the interposition of the constitutional power of this House." This was the 7th of January, 1804. On the 6th of March, they reported that they are of opinion that Mr. Chase "be impeached of high crimes and misdemeanors." Mr. Randolph and Mr. Early were appointed "to go to the Senate, and at the bar thereof, in the name of the House of Representatives, and of all the people of the United States, impeach Samuel Chase," etc., and to state that the House would "in due time exhibit particular articles of impeachment." On the 13th, a committee, of which John Randolph was chairman, was appointed to prepare articles, which were reported on the 20th, but not voted on until the next session. In December the five distinct articles of impeachment were severally adopted by the House, and then seven managers were chosen by ballot to conduct the trial. The Senate also adopted a code of rules of proceeding in cases of impeachment, and so the trial went on, lasting from February 1st, 1805, to the 1st of March following. The result was a complete acquittal, there not being a two-thirds vote of guilty on any one article.

The regulations and restrictions as to impeachment established by the Constitution are only these: The Senate is to be under a special oath in trying an impeachment; no conviction can take place without a vote of "two-thirds of the members present;" and judgment shall not extend further than removal from office and permanent disqualification for office. All other details of form and manner of procedure are left by the Constitution to be determined from time to time, by custom, common sense, the nature of the case, and public justice, as the discretion of the Senate may prescribe, so as to do whatsoever justice and the public good may require, under control of the general principles of our government. The completeness and finality of this discretion is seen in the fact that the judgment of the Senate, carried by a two-thirds vote, is absolutely final and irreversible, so that there is no longer any human authority which can revise the judgment or set aside the decree.

This prerogative of impeachment is in fact the only absolute power known in our form of government. The judgment of the Supreme Court is final only as a decision of the case in hand, and for giving that very decision the judges may be impeached and removed. The President wields "the executive power of the government," without appeal or control, except as the "advice and counsel of the Senate" is required in certain matters; but for any one of his acts he may be impeached by the House and adjudged guilty by the Senate of a misdemeanor, and removed from office by a two-thirds vote. In addition, as things now are, while we are without any Vice-President, the Senate would fill the vacancy which it had made—the President of the Senate being by law the next in order of succession. An act of Congress, passed by both Houses in concurrence, may be vetoed by the President; or, if passed by a two-thirds vote over the veto, may be virtually annulled by the Supreme Court for unconstitutionality. And then again, for that decree the judges may be impeached and removed. But a judgment by two-thirds of the Senate, or an impeachment by vote of the House, has no remedy under heaven.

The two Houses are brought together by the terms of the Constitution on the first Monday in December every year, without any call from the Executive. When together, each House organizes itself by the choice of its officers, without asking or requiring executive approval. And each House judges, without appeal, of the qualifications of its members, and can expel the obnoxious by a two-thirds vote, with no possible appeal or reversal. And, when once assembled and organized, the two Houses can go on with their work as long as they see fit, with no power of the Executive or the Judiciary to interfere, to prorogue, or to dissolve either House. Congress can alone exercise the power of legislation. Neither President nor Supreme Court can give to any rule the force of law except by authority of Congress.

This cumulative aggregation of powers and prerogatives in Congress, crowned by the final absolutism of irreversible impeachment, shows how the people of the United States, in framing their Constitution, have balanced and adjusted the several powers of government, and proves the absurdity of the pretension, borrowed from monarchical countries, of terming the Executive Administration "The Government."

The Constitution, by requiring a two-thirds vote to convict under an impeachment, shows the care by which this supreme and final arbitrament is secured from being made a plaything for fools or a dangerous instrument in the hands of designing and wicked men. And the absence of all other rules of procedure shows that it was intended to make the *ultima ratio*, the last resort of the government, the repository of that paramount and irreversible prerogative which human imperfection renders necessary in the last resort, to avert the necessity of a revolution as the only remedy for evils that are no longer possible to be borne. Such a power needs to be as unrestricted as it is final, because it is designed to be put forth in all possible and all conceivable emergencies, and must therefore make its own rules from time to time, as the exigency of the time may require. If it were bound by precedents, or limited by forms, the only study of the hostile agents would be to keep their mischief outside of those lines, and the country would be without remedy.

The limitation of the penalty to be imposed by impeachment to the bare removal from office and disqualification for future trusts shows the care with which this terrible weapon was guarded against the possibility of being used as the instrument of vengeance or the means of usurpation. Its leading object is not punishment, but to put an instant stop to abuses of administration. The removal from office is hardly regarded in this country as a punishment, because the people never look upon the possession of office as in any sense a personal right. If removal were looked upon in the nature of a penalty, or as implying a charge or conviction of misconduct, it would be impossible for the people to take so quietly the present wholesale removals made by the President of men above the suspicion of wrong, and for no possible cause except that they continue to agree in opinion with the people, while the President has turned against them. A case is supposable in which any reason which serves for removals by the President would be equally valid to warrant removals by impeachment—the penalty in either case being the same. The use of a constitutional power in one case to cut short the abuse of a similar power in the other would be neither anomalous nor dangerous. The penalty of disqualification, inflicted by a two-thirds vote of the Senate, would be a more serious matter, and not likely to be lightly applied.

That a prerogative so potent and so easily applied has so rarely found or made occasions for its exercise, proves only the perfection of the machine, and the fidelity of its management, so that it seldom brings into action the function of the "governor" and the safety-valve. Its existence needs to be recalled to mind, and its capabilities should be occasionally contemplated, that heedless officials may learn to beware of bringing themselves under its operation. Before they know it, they may find themselves hurled from the office they abused, and forever cut off from the highest privileges of citizenship—and that without remedy.

THE FATE OF JOHNSON.

From Wilkes's Spirit of the Times.

WE learn from Washington, through the special dispatches of that journal which is usually best posted in Administration secrets, that it is the intention of the President, "in case the coming elections are favorable to the radicals," to notify the Southern States that his plan is defeated, and that, "*under the circumstances*, the best advice he can give them is to adopt the Constitutional Amendment," as the best thing they can do "that they may be admitted to representation in Congress."

At first sight this would seem to be the forerunner of a wholesome submission, on the part of the President, to the opinions of the people; but it will be perceived, by the phrase which we have quoted, that the people's opinions, though thoroughly pronounced already, are to be resisted by the President and his retainers to the death, and only yielded to when no further effective opposition can be made. This indication from the White House, in advance of the elections, is, therefore, only the key-note of a change of tactics, instead of the announcement of a change of principle, and it should be regarded merely as the notification of a commander to his cohorts, how to take ground for a new line of battle.

The truth is, that even the conceited and insensate mind of an Andrew Johnson has been affrighted at the unexpected anger of the nation; and, comprehending his situation at last, he is now taking measures to ward off the dangers of impeachment. Conscious of his crimes, he foresees an inevitable accusation by the people, and knowing that the result of the elections will be a virtual direction for his indictment, he feels it behooves him to marshal his members within the scope of the Congressional forum. Hence we are notified by the *Herald* that we may expect to hear from Andrew Johnson about Monday next; and hence, as the tone of his address may seem to be an admission of his errors and an atonement for his usurpations, we desire to warn the public against such hopes and suppositions in his favor in advance. Those who look for contrition or repentance in a man like Andrew Johnson—a man who has deserted his party, abandoned his friends, violated the Constitution, and betrayed his trusts; or for honor in one who has perverted the patronage entrusted to his charge in an endeavor to corrupt the constituency and subsidize the press, know but little of poor human nature, and are doomed only to the bitterest disappointment.

There is but one course to be pursued by the triumphant nation toward this faithless and degraded officer. That course will be indicated by the result of the elections of this week. Those elections will express on the part of the people, to a greater degree than they will express anything else, a sense of the deep disgust of the usurpations, vulgarities, crimes, and perfidies of Andrew Johnson; and the verdict will take the shape of a popular demand for his indictment and removal. If, being backed by this support, the Congress, which he has aimed to supplant of its authority, has not courage enough to visit upon him the full extent of the alternative, it will not only prove false to the expectations of the country, but will condemn itself as worthy of no better fate than that which Andrew Johnson had designed for it. It was similar attempts to absorb the powers of Parliament in the functions of the Crown, which figured in the indictment of Charles Stewart; and surely, what the people of England felt warranted in punishing by the execution of a King, might justify, to a Democracy, the expulsion of a President. The disdainful public, in this case, do not crave the culprit's life; but the mildest instincts of an even-handed justice require, that the conspirator who aimed to chain the sovereignty of Congress to the Presidential chair, and who has brutally expelled from office those who had been appointed by the real President, of whom he is but the counterfeit successor, should drain the same chalice and be expelled himself. The authority he has indulged in for a personal purpose, may thus be wholesomely retorted for the general good; and any hesitation to exercise it to that end, will be a grave discredit of the resolution of the people.

It may be objected by some timorous minds, that the dominant majority of the nation cannot afford to venture the expulsion of a President; but we would ask whether we can better afford to endure three years more of the administration of a bad man, whom the whole country desires to be expelled, than to avail ourselves of the opportunity of supplying the public necessities with a good one? Are we to remain the slaves of our fears, when we know we have sufficient strength to make ourselves the masters of our fears? Does anyone suppose that the flagrant course of Andrew Johnson has left him a single friend of any power in the country? Does anyone believe that his discharge from the White House would leave his absence regretted by a soul? Even the Democratic party, which has been unexpectedly blighted by the bad luck of his adhesion, would welcome any step that would cast him from its cause, and leave it to be invigorated with a natural line of opposition. As to his finding adherents in the army, or being able to organize a resistance through the patronage of the Executive, no one can entertain such an idea for an instant, who has observed the recent temper of the people. Military men of rank in this country have too much sense to attempt to stem the current of the nation; and Andrew Johnson is not of the cloth which soldiers choose for the manufacture of their heroes. Moreover, the army of this country is the people.

Again, it may be objected that the indictment and expulsion of a President would be a great scandal to the United States before the world; but let us ask if it would not be a greater scandal and a greater reproach to our sense of independence to endure the administration of a man who has committed crimes which require that he should be expelled, and who is in our hands to punish? But it is a mistake to suppose that it would be a scandal to inflict this justice upon such a criminal as Andrew Johnson. It would, on the contrary, be the crowning glory of our institutions to depose him by the quiet process of the law. It has constantly been said, by those who are envious of our democratic forms, that the republican system of government would not endure; that it could not stand the strain of party spirit; and that it had not enough of rugged power to master an extended civil conflict; but we have seen it defy the varied tempests of a century; we have seen it grapple successfully with foreign wars; we have seen it suppress a monster insurrection by sheer force of arms; we have seen it trample out a mighty party with every sign of indignation, because it became recreant to democratic principles; and having seen all this, we have beheld the nation endure the murder of a well-beloved President without any derangement beyond that perturbation which belongs to grief. There is but one more proof for us to give, and that is to take an unworthy Chief Magistrate by the collar, and after giving him a hearing, to turn him ignominiously out of office, as if he were a mere sergeant-of-arms, or doorkeeper, or the meanest culprit in the State. This would be a full answer to all aristocratic sneers at republican vitality, and it would make the whole world know, even to its remotest corners, that the people of this country reign supreme, and constantly legislate, for themselves, on every measure worthy of general consideration. It would be the most sublime evidence of the capacity of the people for self-government ever given to man; and as such a proof, it would do more to establish popular institutions throughout Europe than all other influences that have transpired for the last hundred years. The whole effect of such a trial would be entirely wholesome, while the idea, that the person put on trial would be able to organize a resistance to the authority of Congress, and put this government to a new trial of its strength as against himself, is simple nonsense. On the contrary, the people are expressing a direct demand in the pending elections, that Andrew Johnson shall be impeached and tried; and when he is tried and turned adrift, there will be none to sorrow for him—none so poor to do him reverence.

SPEECH OF GEN. BUTLER AT CINCINNATI—THE PRESIDENT IMPEACHED.

Special Dispatch to the N. Y. Tribune.

CINCINNATI, Oct. 7, 1866.

GEN. BUTLER addressed an immense audience at Xonia, Dayton, and Springfield on Friday, and at Hamilton and Cincinnati yesterday. His trip from Cleveland has been one continuous ovation. The interest has been intensified at every city. He has spoken everwhere in defense of Congress, in advocacy of impartial suffrage, and in favor of the impeachment of the President. Yesterday there was the most imposing procession from Cincinnati to Carthage ever witnessed in this country, and at night Mozart Hall was densely filled with an enthusiastic audience. Gen. Butler advocated the impeachment of the President because he had sought to bring Congress into public hatred, ridicule and contempt; because he had corruptly used the pardoning power and unlawfully restored property belonging by right of capture to the United States, and because he usurped the power of Congress by terminating the war by proclamations instead of by treaty by the advice of the Senate or a law of Congress. Each of these offenses are high crimes and misdemeanors in the meaning of the Constitution. There was one bold passage toward the close of his speech, which was received with tremendous cheers. As it is a new point in political discussions, I send it verbatim:

"We have been asked the question, How can the President be impeached? He is Commander-in-Chief of the army and navy, and the Constitution of the United States says nothing whatever about who shall hold the office while he is being impeached. Therefore, if you begin the impeachment, he will order the army and navy to disperse Congress, and he will seize the reins of government. Where is the remedy? Here it is: The House of Representatives, under the Constitution, is the grand inquest of the nation—perhaps I might say, for illustration, the Grand Jury of the nation. It prepares the bill of impeachment against the President if it sees cause, and it presents the bill of impeachment to the Senate of the United States, which then becomes a high Court of impeachment, and the Chief-Justice of the United States sits in that Court as its presiding officer. It is thus no longer, for that purpose, the Senate of the United States, but it is the Court of Impeachment, of the United States. What shall they do? When the Impeachment is ready the Senate sends out its messenger or Sergeant-at-Arms to bring in the criminal, be he high or low. (Applause.) They set him at the bar and read the bill to him. If he plead guilty, then they proceed to sentence him, which sentence is a deposition and deprivation of office. When he is brought before the bar, the Senate of the United States may order him to be imprisoned, or to find bail, or any other proper order that a Court might adopt in a criminal case, and when the Constitution provided this mode of trial, did its framers mean that a man who is before the Court of Impeachment as a criminal shall be at the same time chief executive officer of the government? By no means. From that moment he ceases to be able to exercise the duties of that office until he is acquitted. And then comes the case of the inability of the President of the United States to exercise the office of President, so the Vice-President must take the office, and there being no Vice-President, it must devolve on the President of the Senate for the time being. (Applause.) If in any of these steps, so taken, according to the Constitution, the President does not obey as a good citizen the behests of the High Court of Impeachment, then that Court, like any other Court in the land, can call upon the whole body of the people to aid it in enforcing its rightful authority. (Applause.) And now I serve a notice on Andy Johnson, that when a rightful court of the Senate of the United States calls for aid in their behalf, and the people of the United States, "the boys in blue," will answer. We are told that if Congress shall proceed to exercise their rightful authority, then there will be tried the strength of the government, that the President will call upon the army and navy, and the army and navy will obey him. Let there be no fear about that, because the army and the navy of the United States are not those few men that are in the regular service. (Applause.) I have no desire to disparage either the patriotism or the integrity of the army of the United States; but if the army, as such, or of any portion of it, or of any officer of it, shall so far forget the duties he owes to his flag and to his profession as a soldier as to answer any but the legal call of his country, that small body of men shall be swept away before the rising of the morning sun." (Prolonged cheers.)

At Hamilton, Gen. Butler in reply to a charge that he was responsible for stopping the exchange of prisoners, gave a detailed history of the transaction, and stated that he stopped the exchange under the express written order of the Lieutenant-General.

THE SOUTHERN PRESS.

BUTLER COMPLIMENTED.

GEN. BUTLER, having discussed the justice of hanging Robert E. Lee for his share in the Andersonville crime, the Mobile *Tribune* thus anathematizes:

"Hang Robert E. Lee! It is highly just that such a sentiment of the devil should be uttered by so appropriate a medium as Beast Butler. It would have burned to a cinder, during utterance, any other than Butlerian lips. It required cheeks of fourfold brass to give passage, without bursting asunder, to such a sentiment. A simple thief would have failed in the attempt to give it voice; a common murderer would not have undertaken it; an ordinary coward would have been ashamed of it; a moderate liar would have broken down in the attempt. It required a perfect combination of the whole—liar, coward, thief and murderer, in the foul person of the Massachusetts hero, to complete the incarnate fiend capable of standing up in full assembly and coolly making the proposition to hang Gen. Robert E. Lee!"

SEMMES—SOLDIERS CONVENTION.

Semmes, formerly commander of the Alabama, and now editor of the Mobile *Gazette*, denounces Soldiers Conventions. Had the Cleveland meeting been as large as the grand reunion at Pittsburg, Capt. Semmes would no doubt have expressed a different opinion. We quote from his paper, though Union soldiers will not be apt to take instructions from one of the bitterest of rebel leaders:

"The very object of calling these Conventions SOLDIERS Conventions, is a sort of menace to the people. It is tantamount to saying to the people, 'If you do not manage things better, we will manage them for you.' And woe to this country when its affairs shall be managed by the soldiery—when we shall have Thomases, and Sheridans, and Woods, and Swaynes arresting and imprisoning our citizens, in defiance of the courts and the people; and still further woe, when these military gentlemen shall be arrayed against each other, and contending with hostile armies for power, which would be one of the first results of the overturning of the civil government."

KENTUCKY TEMPER.

The rebels are not very good-tempered just now, and the German and Irish soldiers are in especial disfavor in the South. Gen. Carl Schurz recently noticed the significant fact that the freedmen celebrated the last Fourth of July universally, while the rebels declined the least observance. In reply, the Fayetteville *Observer*, published in the notorious Lincoln County, Ky., uses the following refined language:

"It is a noticeable fact that the freedmen celebrated the Fourth of July in the South in every town of importance, while the reconstructed rebels silently refused the least observance of the day."—*Maj.-Gen. Carl Schurz.*

"Is that any of your business, you squash-headed, flop-eared, beer-swilling, garlic-eating, negro-loving, German convict? What, do you know about the South, or the Fourth of July either? We loved our country, and always celebrated the anniversary of its independence in a becoming manner until it was overrun by several millions of foreign thieves and cut-throats like yourself, whose votes were bought up by Northern demagogues at a pint of lager beer each."

THE PRESS.

THE late elections, and the Philadelphia *Ledger* dispatch have been the chief topics of interest in the leading journals for a few days past. We present extracts below which indicate the tone of public opinion:

CONGRESS SUSTAINED.

The *Tribune* says:

We submit that the sentiment of the old free States is no longer a subject of controversy. They sustain Congress, and insist on guaranties against future rebellions. Johnson must gain at least twenty Representatives to give him a control over legislation by the veto power. Already, seven States have voted, choosing 68 Members, and he has gained none at all. It is no longer possible to constitute a bogus House, composed in good part of ex-rebels unable to take the "iron-clad" oath. The struggle is virtually ended, though a good many States have yet to vote. The Constitutional Amendment will be presented by the North to the South and accepted.

If the struggle is "substantially ended," and the Republican strength predominates so largely, is it not time for the *Tribune* now to *insist* upon, as well as express a preference for, impartial suffrage?

"A HAPPY ACCORD"—THE DESTRUCTION OF THE RADICALS.

The *Herald* says:

First of all, the duty now devolves upon President Johnson of preparing the Southern States for their manifest destiny and of preparing such a message for Congress in December as will bring him at once into "a happy accord" with the conservative republican majority of the two houses, which, rejecting all the extreme measures of the radicals, adopted the fair and reasonable conditions of the constitutional amendment. With harmony thus restored between President and Congress, as it ought to be, and with the excluded States next restored on the basis of the amendment, as they will be, we shall have the great party of the future in full operation. Then will come the real fight with the radicals; and their fate is as certain as that of the recent domineering and fire-eating rebel faction of the South, or of their servile followers, the dirt-eating peace-at-any-price copperhead faction of the North.

THE FATE OF THE "SECOND" CONGRESS.

The *Times* says:

At least one source of apprehension has been removed. Had these elections ended adversely to Congress—had promises been held out of any considerable change in the complexion of that body—the idea of a second House, with the Southern representatives unconditionally admitted, might possibly have assumed dangerous dimensions. The proposition that a second Congress should be organized, and that the President should recognize the one favorable to his plan, might then have been more plausible. Fortunately this beginning of revolution has been obviated. Not the faintest pretext can now be found for impugning the validity of the Congressional decision, or for mooting the legitimacy of any other body. The people have taken care that this threatened peril shall not be heard of more. They have decreed, not only that Congress as it now is, faithfully represents their convictions and purposes, but that the Congress which will come after shall sustain substantially the same policy. Neither the South nor the President, then, has aught to expect from delay. The South must choose between prolonged exclusion, with the probability of more stringent terms, and the acceptance of the overture already submitted to them. The President must be content to see Congress push forward its new method of settlement, despite protestations and vetoes, or must frankly accept the verdict pronounced by the people who elected him, and use his opportunities to hasten restoration on the only basis that is practicable. He has stated his own case, and the people have refused to accept it. The part of statesmanship surely is to concede graciously and promptly to the popular requirements, and to exert the influence of the Executive in support of the compromise now tendered to the Southern States.

THE LEGITIMATE CONGRESS SUSTAINED.

Again the *Times* says:

The one great result which has now been reached is the ratification by the people of the position assumed by Congress in relation to the President and the South. This has been the test to which every candidate, every platform, has been subjected. Shall the President be sustained in his plan for restoring the Union by the immediate admission of the Southern States to the Capitol? Or shall the recommendations of the President be repudiated, and the action of Congress endorsed? The question may have been more or less modified in particular localities, as in that represented by Mr. Thaddeus Stevens, but as a rule this has been its shape—the President or Congress? The immediate admission of the South, or the exaction of preliminary conditions, embodied in the Constitutional Amendment? And the answer leaves room neither for equivocation nor doubt. It is overwhelmingly against the President—clearly, unmistakably, decisively in favor of Congress and its policy.

WHAT IS DECIDED.

The *Herald* thus proclaims what has been decided:

The verdicts of the recent elections are one and all in favor of the Constitutional Amendment as a finality, and the immediate readmission of the South on the basis of that amendment, if it shall be adopted by the requisite number of States. The platforms laid down by the State conventions have all been outspoken and decisive upon that point and have eschewed radicalism altogether. Those platforms comprised the true principles upon which the candidates stood and for which the people voted. The radical stump orators, with ranting Ben Butler at their head, might have bawled themselves hoarse, without being able to change or effect the issue one iota. Their ravings were not before the people, and the people cared nothing for them. It is the same in this State. The platform of principles laid down at Syracuse is before the voters of New York, and Gov. Fenton, who amounts to nothing of himself, is presented to them for their suffrages as the representative of those principles and of none other.

THE RADICAL SUPREMACY.

The Daily *News* says:

In the States in which elections were held last Tuesday, while the Republicans held their own, there was no particular revulsion of feeling manifest, such as was indicated by the vote in Maine, and people voted generally as they did two years ago. The result, however, preserves the radical supremacy in Congress, and upon that party will devolve the duty of arranging the terms upon which the South is to come back into the Union, if they

choose to admit her at all. At the people have decided to renew the lease of power now held by the radicals, there is no disputing with their fiat, and we can only hope that the fears which the language and conduct of many of their leaders have excited will prove to have been groundless, and that they will prove themselves worthy of the trust committed to their charge. The fact that their success has been moderate, and that their opponents gained largely in many localities on the popular vote, should admonish them that their renewal of power is not a license to unrestrained party excess, nor an indorsement of the rabid utterances of extremists, for wherever these held forth most strenuously the party loss is the greatest, and some of the districts in Pennsylvania can be cited as an illustration. Their majorities are not so great that a very slight change of sentiment would not reverse. While it is the duty of those who hoped and desired the result would be different to acquiesce in and bow to the popular will, it is equally incumbent upon those who havy achieved success to remember that a minority which lacks but one or two per cent. to be in a majority, is also entitled to some respect and consideration.

PRESIDENT JOHNSON'S LESSON.

The *Post* says :

Let us hope that the President will take a lesson from the voice of the people. He may well do so. His main purpose has been and is, if we understand him rightly, to bring the country back as quickly as possible to constitutional government. The shortest way now to reach that desirable end, is the adoption of the Constitutional Amendment. Those who oppose that now, labor for the perpetuation of disorganization ; and are not wise or true friends, either of the Southern States, or of the country. Mr. Johnson has gained, we are told, great influence over the Southern whites. If he is a wise statesman, he has an opportunity to use that influence now for the pacification of the country. Let him urge the adoption of the amendment upon the Southern voters. That its terms are just he will not and has not denied ; it is entirely made up from his own declarations—those declarations of policy which were counted so wise and statesmanlike by the country that it choose him for Vice-President because he had uttered them. In advocating it he has only to reiterate his own often-repeated political opinions.

SPIRIT OF THE DEMOCRATIC PRESS.

The Bedford *Gazette* is one of the foremost organs of the Democratic party of Pennsylvania, and has ever been in thorough sympathy with its candidate for Governor, Heister Clymer. The fact that it recently published, with evident sympathy, a eulogy on J. Wilkes Booth as having "laid down his life for his country," was promptly reported by telegraph, but discredited by certain Democratic journals. To end all controversy on the subject, we print exactly what was said by the *Gazette*—as follows :

"A meeting of the true and tried Democracy was held in the Court House in Bedford, on the evening of Saturday, Sept. 22, 1866. That firm and reliable Democrat, Col. Joseph W. Tate, was unanimously chosen President of the meeting. After several able and eloquent addresses had been delivered, on motion of the Hon. Benjamin F. Myers, editor of the Bedford *Gazette*, and present Democratic candidate for Senator in that District, Col. Tate was called upon to address the meeting. The Colonel responded in his usual able and eloquent manner. After discussing the issues of the day, the Colonel eloquently exclaimed :

"'I believe that Providence had a hand in the removal of Abraham Lincoln. I believe that the name of J. Wilkes Booth will live ; that *he laid down his life for his country*, like Winklereid. Switzerland had her Winklereid and her William Tell ; Scotland had her Robert Bruce, and *America her Booth. The time is coming when there will be a monument erected to Booth higher than the spire of Lincoln*, who sleeps beneath the sod of Illinois.'"

—We do not deem any comment necessary.—*Tribune.*

THE SOUTH RETREATING.

The worst look political affairs have, at present, is that which shows the South retreating. While republicans are rejoicing over the defeat of Johnson, the South hasteus to accept his defeat as its own, and once more turns to make the best of circumstances. It falls back to take its stand on the Congressional Amendment. It argues that the best terms it can now get are those the Amendment offers. Five months later, and even that may be withdrawn. Congress will meet in December, backed by larger majorities than sustained it through the war. It will then have become thoroughly abolitionized. And *before that time* or *never*, the South must fight the battle against negro suffrage. "The Amendment," it says, "is not so bad after all. The loss of a few Representatives cripples its cause, but black voters would ruin it. Best count the negro *nobody* than have him count against the Southern white."

To this policy the South is fast retreating. It is possible for the President to retreat in the same direction. That he will seek to carry out his policy beyond the Fall elections is not probable. If the Republicans move forward towards suffrage, he will declare for the Amendment. He will make *that* mean "bowing to the will of the people"—whose servant he is. He can take this step gracefully and consistently. For what is the Amendment when an Abolitionist strips it of its gloss. First, it is a complete recognition and deference to the theory of State Rights. This may be shown from the highest Republican authority. The address of the National Republican Committee thus explains : "A State which chooses to hold part of its population in ignorance and vassalage—powerless, uneducated, unfranchised—shall not count that portion to balance the educated, intelligent, enfranchised citizens of other States." Second, it is a shameful admission that this is a white man's government. The same "Address" says : "'But' some one may say, 'this section is designed to *coerce* the South into according suffrage to the blacks.' Not so, we reply ; but only to notify her (ruling caste) that we will no longer bribe them to keep (their) blacks in serfdom. We say, therefore, to South Carolina, 'If you keep (your) blacks in serfdom,'" etc. Now the President can well agree to all this. The *Herald* says it was silly in him to have ever made an issue upon it. And so it was. It is his own creed throughout. Now that Sumner and Stephens abandon it he may discover his opportunity. The *Herald* has gone before him. The *Times* is on the way. The *World* will not long stay behind. And when *it* gets to the Amendment, Alex. Stephens, Gov. Parsons, Mayor Munroe, and everybody else of the "ruling caste," will have become champions of the Union based on the late "Congressional policy"

What then will Congress do ? Will it fulfil the Southern prophecy—cancel the Amendment, and ordain suffrage. *That is now the issue.* What will Congress do ? The President's policy is already done for. None so wild as to do it homage. The Amendment must share the same fate.

It will no longer do to urge that the Amendment in any sense ends the controversy. It does not even touch it. The equalizing of representation by ignoring the negro, is the old trick. It is a dodge. Impartial suffrage is the just and only plan. None other covers the whole ground. The shame of America is its persistence in its crime against the negro. The negro is made the white man's football. Kick him which way you will—any way ; it don't matter where—to carry an election, or save the Union. The poor Union ! It lives on the blood of Cuffy.

It is time that Republicans, who profess so much love of Justice, should let the Union slide out of their thoughts, while they look square at the black man and read in *his* face the lessons of justice. —*The Radical.*

PITTSBURG.

MEETING OF COLORED CITIZENS—SPEECHES BY FRED. DOUGLASS AND JAMES REDPATH.

Special Dispatch to the N. Y. Tribune.

PITTSBURG, Friday, Sept. 28, 1866.

A large meeting of colored citizens was held to-night in the New City Park ; among them were two companies of the black boys in blue, who fought as part of the army of the James, under Butler, and Nashville, under Gen. Thomas. Frederick Douglass spoke upon the political situation, and criticized with severity the Constitutional Amendment. He described the provision as a cheat to the loyal negroes. It practically ignored the true men of the South, it recognized whites lately in rebellion as the State in whose hands it placed the right of enfranchising or disfranchising the men who succored our wounded soldiers and poured out their blood as water in defence of the Union. It had always been so in American history. The first shot that killed a British officer in the war of Independence was fired by a colored man. What was the reward ? His race kept in slavery. In 1812 the colored loyalists of New Orleans fought under Jackson and helped to drive back the British there. What recompense did they receive ? The irons of slavery. Again this ghastly tragedy was to be played. Military and political necessity, not the love of liberty and justice, had alone given the colored men the right they had acquired during war. He spoke in terms of terrible bitterness against that ingrate of ingrates, Johnson, whom the Republican party found a vagabond, away from his home, unknown, ignorant and hopeless, and raised to his present position. No sooner did he find himself securely seated there than he turned the guns of the Union from its enemies and pointed them toward its friends. He urged colored men to let their voice be heard in demanding their just dues from Congress.

Jas. Redpath spoke of the recent Convention, and said its platform did not express the highest convictions of the brave men who composed it, but had been constructed to suit the views of a class of timid politicians who were more anxious to secure seats in Congress than justice to colored loyalists. They did not know that it is always best for brave men to be brave. The lions had met in counsel, and lo, the foxes had spoken for them. It was urged that if the Convention had spoken out for impartial suffrage the Republicans would have lost certain districts in Pennsylvania, Ohio and Indiana. He announced if they enfranchised the colored men of these States, they need never lose their sleep of nights for fear of Democratic triumphs. It was not Democrats—for they had killed themselves, but Conservatives calling themselves Republicans that the North had to fear.

John Burns of Gettysburg was introduced and cheered enthusiastically. The *Tribune*, also, received hearty cheers. Frederick Douglass again addressed an audience in the City Hall. It was one of his finest efforts. He pleaded for immediate and universal suffrage for his race, and said that any other plan of reconstruction would deservedly end in ruin. The colored loyalists wanted the right of suffrage : first, because they were men ; second, because they needed it for their education ; third, because they needed it for their protection ; fourth, because the law of American institutions is universal suffrage ; and fifth, because the white race will want us again ; sixth, because there can be no safe reconstruction without it ; eighth, because the national honor requires that it should be given ; ninth, because there is no good reason why it should be denied. He drew a strong picture of negroes fording streams, swimming rivers, scrambling through thickets, defying death by drowning, by rebel bullets, in order to warn our Generals of dangers and to tell them how to escape it. They had been eyes to the blind, feet to the wounded prisoners. He then contrasted this sublime devotion with the indifference of political parties to the negroes now. His heart first failed him when Grant forbade the negro regiment to join the grand parade of the armies at Washington. He showed that, high as was the moral altitude that had been reached by the white soldier in rushing to the defence of his country, leaving home, friends, and family for its sake, the conduct of the black soldier was more heroic, because he had fought and died for a country which had sold, and scourged, and ostracised him and still refused to admit him on equal terms into its political circles.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, OCTOBER 20, 1866.

THE ELECTIONS.

The elections of last week substantially guarantee to the Republican party the management of public affairs not only for the remainder of the Thirty-ninth, but also in the Fortieth Congress. The result of the November elections, after those which have just passed, can hardly be considered doubtful. The canvass has been very thorough, especially in the State of Pennsylvania. All that official patronage could do to demoralize the people and break the ranks of the Republicans was done, with unwonted vigor and determination. Messrs. Johnson and Seward were doubtless the most efficient canvassers for the Republican interest who entered the field. Their movements created a sense of insecurity in the public mind which told largely in favor of their opponents. There was never greater miscalculation for selfish ends than Mr. Seward's in projecting the Johnson-Douglas tour. The result is that Congress is triumphantly sustained. We do not, however, accept, and we hope members of Congress will not accept, the recent vote as an intentional endorsement by the people of the half-and-half, compromising measures of the last session. The revolutionary attitude of the President made it apparent that another outbreak of war would soon occur if he was not condemned with emphasis. The only practicable way of rendering this rebuke, under the peculiar circumstances, was in re-electing and increasing opposing members of Congress. Many who are not Republicans have voted, and will vote thus for the security of their own personal investments in government bonds. It had become manifest to the selfish, money interest, irrespective of party, that it was from the rebels represented by the President, and not radicalism, that danger was threatened. We have noted with special satisfaction throughout the campaign that the most radical expressions have uniformly called forth from the people the most emphatic and hearty demonstrations of approval. The pending Amendment has been dwelt upon as an issue, the demand for equality of representation has been warmly responded to. But the thorn within the rose has been carefully concealed. In the presence of impending danger to their own interests from a speedy renewal of war, multitudes, with a studious silence of their orators on that point, overlook the terrible peril which the adoption of the Amendment would bring to the blacks and the loyal whites. It is at this point that we urge our condemnation of the action of the majority of the last Congress. They stupidly and criminally blundered from their own lack of faith in just principles and insufficient trust in the people.

Looking forward to the future, our concern is that the men who shaped the policy of the last session of Congress may not blunder again by considering these elections an endorsement only of that for which they deserve severe censure. With the shrewdness of satanic instinct the enemies of the negro having failed, with the leadership of President Johnson, to get him back directly in their grip as a slave, mean now to take advantage of the Amendment, if possible, to crowd him to the wall under the shield of State Sovereignty which that measure practically concedes. We urge therefore that the Amendment be rejected and shall do what we can to prevent its adoption. The laudable end of just and equal representation can be readily attained without this disgraceful betrayal of the blacks. The responsibility which will rest upon Republican legislators will be commensurate with the great opportunity which is before them. There will be no need of hesitation on account of the President. The rupture which was dreaded a year ago, and which was so timidly and foolishly avoided by Congress giving the advantage of time to the treacherous rebel leader, is now open and well defined. Nor is their need of being much longer embarrassed by Mr. Johnson as President at all. It will be a paramount duty of Congress, without waiting to consider any message he may have to offer, if he should conclude to send one at all, to initiate measures for his impeachment, and promptly to suspend his functions as President. If this be not done, as well might there be no provision in the Constitution for impeachment. We trust, however, that there will be no hesitation in the discharge of this duty. It is what radical members of Congress desire, and none know better than they that it ought to be done. Nor need they again fear of not being sustained in doing anything which really ought to be done, whether it has been the subject of discussion in the Convention or not. Republicans everywhere distrust Mr. Johnson and want to be rid of him. The Democrats inwardly curse him for the damage he has done to their fondly cherished party prospects. The Southern Confederates begin to think of him as they did of Fernando Wood, Mayor Hoffman, Horatio Seymour and other Northern Democrats, who promised to help them achieve an easy success in rebellion and failed. All classes, with the exception of a few office-holders, would in reality be glad to get rid of a President who has dishonored his office and greatly imperilled the safety and prosperity of the nation.

Next we urge Congress to commence at the beginning and undo the treasonable work of the President in giving the entire governmental machinery of the South into the hands of rebels. The so-called governments of the rebellious States are but the fruits of usurpation. Congress owes it to the loyal whites, and to our true and tried friends, the blacks, to see that these illegal organizations are promptly abolished. There is, as was demonstrated by the Representative Convention of Southern Loyalists at Philadelphia, with their white and black constituents, abundant material out of which loyal, republican governments in those States can be constructed, if they are but made possible and guaranteed by Congress. The true Reconstruction has yet to be begun. It is for this work in our great national emergency that members of Congress have been and are to be elected. This is the responsibility they accept. President Johnson madly threw away his opportunity. There is now no help for him. He is already impeached by the moral sense of the nation. He will furnish one more name for the scroll of infamy, lower down even than those of Pierce and Buchanan ! Let those to whom the people delegate anew authority to do their work at this crisis, in the hope that it will be well done, take warning. If they will but seek justice for a corner-stone, and proceed with Reconstruction upon the basis of the Declaration of Independence all will be well.

SENATOR WILSON CONVERTED.

The Boston *Congregationalist* of the 12th inst. says :

"It is with feelings of peculiar pleasure that we record the interesting fact of the conversion of Hon. Henry Wilson, in connection with the revival now in progress in Natick, where he resides. A few evenings since, he publicly came forward to receive the prayers of Christians, and has established the family altar. Always a sober, thinking person, with strong convictions of religious truth, he has never seen his way clear to an open avowal of his faith till now ; and he takes this step with that deliberation and practical intelligence so characteristic of all his actions. He now occupies the noble position of a Christian statesman. If ever this nation needed Christian men in her high places, it is now, and all good people will pray fervently that the blessing of Heaven may rest upon our distinguished Senator, who, while laboring for and loving his country, is not afraid to avow his love for God. We could say more which would interest our readers, but feel that it might, at the present time, be an infringement of true delicacy."

We shall rejoice if the Natick revival has brought Mr. Wilson to a consciousness of the wickedness of his political management during the past year, and induced in him a change of heart. With Anti-Slavery antecedents which have won for him trust and confidence, his compromising attitude in the Senate during the last session, was a political blunder, worse in effect than a crime. For a long time he gave support to the President or kept silence when he should have remonstrated and warned the country of the impending danger. He shamefully betrayed Massachusetts and the negro by his course on the Colorado question. More recently, if Theodore Tilton, Anna Dickinson, James Redpath, and others, speak truly he acted the part of Marplot at Philadelphia and well-nigh defeated the heroic Southern loyalists in their purpose to declare for impartial suffrage. We submit, without any personal ill-will toward Mr. Wilson, that such is *not* Christian statesmanship. We observe that at the Cooper Institute on Monday evening last he avowed himself in favor of universal suffrage. This he has done before. We shall value his declarations at the Cooper Institute and in the revival meeting in the proportion that his action henceforth shall establish their genuineness.

The Bogus Dispatch which was given to the public through the Philadelphia *Ledger* awakened much feeling throughout the country. The questions said to have been propounded to the Attorney-General as to the legality of the present Congress by the President were just such as his speeches had prepared the people to expect. We see it intimated that the dispatch was put forth as a feeler to test public opinion on that point. The condemnation was decisive and almost universal. Sundry comments by the press prepared for this number are unavoidably crowded out.

Wendell Phillips will deliver a lecture at the Cooper Institute on Thursday evening next, the 25th inst. His subject will be "The Treachery of the Republican Party." Tickets of admission, fifty cents. A few platform tickets may be had, one dollar each, at this office. Our friends in this city and vicinity, desirous of hearing Mr. Phillips, will do well to secure their tickets early.

We print in another column an important Address to the people of the United States from the Committee of Southern Loyalists appointed at Philadelphia to visit the tomb of Lincoln. We bespeak for it a careful perusal. It should be widely circulated. We trust this timely appeal may be heard and heeded by the people and their representatives.

Horace Greeley and John Morrissey have been nominated for Congress from this city. Each candidate is distinguished in his way. James Brooks of the N. Y. *Express*, William E. Dodge and Mrs. Stanton, it is said, will be the competing candidates in the Eighth District.

Henry Ward Beecher addressed a large audience in the Brooklyn Academy of Music on Monday evening last, and improved the opportunity to swing around from the Johnson-Democracy to the Republican party.

PERSONAL.

William Lloyd Garrison, we are gratified to learn, is much improved in health, and is likely to completely recover from the serious injuries which have occasioned him severe and protracted suffering.

John Van Buren died a few days since on board the steamer Scotia. The steamer reached this port on Tuesday last with his remains. The funeral ceremonies will take place to-morrow (Friday) at Grace Church.

John S. Rarey, the famous horse-tamer, died suddenly at Cleveland on the 4th inst. Last December he had a stroke of paralysis, since which time he had been treated by several prominent physicians. On Thursday, at 2 p.m., he left the Waddell House for a walk, but soon returned, complaining of a pain in the head. After being seated for a few minutes he exclaimed, "I am dying," and in about an hour he expired.

Says the Washington correspondent of the Worcester (Mass.) *Spy* :

"The friends of Sojourner Truth, of whom Mrs. Stowe has written so warmly, will be glad to know that she is still in Washington doing faithful and laborious service to the freed people, by instructing them 'how to live in freedom.' Her first work was in Freedmen's Village, where she remained more than a year. Feeling that her mission there was accomplished, in April, 1865, the memorable week of the assassination, she came to this city, where she has remained since, devoting herself, with an earnestness peculiar to herself, to moral, social and physical improvement of the multitudes of poor and degraded colored refugees from Virginia and Maryland with which the District abounds. Ample field is afforded her to impart to her oppressed race the practical lessons of her own grand experience —forty years in slavery and nearly as many in freedom —the only colored volunteer laborer in the District in behalf of the emancipated. She was welcomed by President Lincoln, with, 'What can I do for you ?' 'Oh,' said she, 'I came to thank you for what you have done for my people, and to help you to take care of them,'—and as though a sacred charge had been left her by him, corroborating her own great inspiration, she has sternly rebuked the vices and cherished the virtues of these people, and is now going from neighborhood to neighborhood during the week, and on Sabbath is meeting them, and talking from a stand in the open air, on the practical duties they should perform, and especially forcing upon them the fact that they are *not free* while they depend upon the government or public benevolence, but must go where they can find work and a home, and 'draw their rations from their own cellars.'

"Through her efforts, within the last three months, many of the most destitue in the city have been induced to go to the West, where they report themselves as well satisfied, and desirous that all their friends should come out of their 'shanties' and live 'like people,' as they do. Sojourner is still at work helping them to go."

LET US CONSIDER.

BY. C. D. B. MILLS.

It behooves the people of our country, at this hour, to ponder well their steps, to consider carefully how and to what issue they cast their ballots in the canvass just at hand. The character of the creature they have in the White House, thanks to his coarse garrulity that lays his plans and purposes essentially undisguised, is becoming measurably well understood. He is held in somewhat just estimation as an enemy, a conspirator desperately plotting against liberty, devising for treason and violence. There is hardly danger at all that the seal of popular disapproval will not be broadly set in the coming elections upon him and his execrable "policy." He is fast making himself too infamous for endurance.

But how about the issue ? What is to be declared and insured in the success of the Union Republican party, as against their usurping Executive ? What will have been defined and accomplished ? What substantial vantage will have been gained ? These questions require careful examination.

The rallying cry now is, Congress ; sustain it, adopt its policy, secure the reconstruction on the basis of the Congressional Amendment. Congress is just now an object of the Executive displeasure, of his coarse and ribald maledictions in his perambulations over the country. Endorse Congress, and thus rebuke and defeat him, and save the imperilled Republic. And so the multitudes who go more by sound and specious appearance than by seeing and reflection, are likely to rush on hitherward, dreaming that the policy of Congress is truth and virtue, the healing balm for the nation. The hour waxes heated with excitement, and a great crisis that holds the fate of rival policies is upon us.

But looking at it, what does the Congressional policy embody and assure ? It does not secure nor attempt to secure to the black man, or even to the disfranchised whites in the unreconstructed States, the sacred protection of the franchise. It permits those States to return into the fellowship of the Union unregenerate and uncontrolled, rebel still, and with full power to take representation in the national councils in that character. It leaves the loyal millions there, who have done and suffered in the nation's behalf, and *saved it*, under the heel of their old oppressors. *It extends the sanction of the nation's license to their disfranchisement*, making the entire country *particeps criminis*—an act of damning guilt and treachery, of base ingratitude never approached before even in our worst history. Its stupendous folly is matched only by its criminality. Is this the plan our countrymen are to be exhorted to support in order to subvert the machinations of the rebels and to defeat Johnson ? Bad as is his policy, steeped in criminal purpose and pregnant with untold calamities, the method of Congress is hardly less false and inhuman ; a poison it is, albeit mayhap of slower operation, yet of equally sure and fatal result.

Here is the height of the attainment of the party of growth and progress, under the terrible discipline of four years of war, and such a hollow and murderous peace as has followed ; this is the high-water mark of their courage and virtue. The great Republican Convention of the State of New York, late assembled in this city (Syracuse) could get no farther than—Congress. This is the platform everywhere. That the loyalists from the Gulf States at Philadelphia recently had the manliness to withstand the counsels of the wily cravens from the North, dissuading from the utterance of any testimony for impartial suffrage, lest the prospects of the Republican party should thereby be damaged—is to their everlasting honor, and all the more to the shame of the advisers.

It is an old trick, that of blinking the issue, of attempting to reach by indirection and half measures what men feel and know that right and duty require. It has been tried since the world was, and we have essayed it to our cost in the last five years.

When Sumter came and the rebellion, there was a stroke on the clock of heaven announcing a new hour for the world. It was the voice declaring from the skies—Compromise at an end ; slavery and all its concomitants abolished. Behold, saith the Lord, I make all things new ; prepare ye the ways and make them straight for the coming of the Most High. The word to this nation was—Repent, for the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand. Absolve yourselves, wash you clean of all participation in slavery, consecrate all to humanity, and in truth's name go and wipe out this horrid atrocity which the earth groans under and Heaven frowns upon ! Never before was such opportunity, such monition offered to any people ; never was nation found more signally unprepared and unequal to the call. It was the opening of the seventh seal, the judgment and the final prophecy.

"It has been our misfortune," I heard Horace Greeley some while ago (during the war) declare, "not to be able to look our antagonist in the face. Slavery comes to us and hits us on the forehead, and says, 'I am slavery ; I challenge thee to mortal combat.' The North says, 'No, thou art not slavery—thou art rebellion ; I will put rebellion down and leave slavery untouched.'" The war came. We saw the "uprising of a great people," as it was called—hosts on hosts girded in array, and marching to the clang of battle ; but it was not for broad justice, and to vindicate humanity ; it was to maintain the nationality and the American Union. The just issue was not drawn ; the nation attempted to evade and ignore God. Bull-Run defeats, McClellan campaigns, 300,000 of the flower of our youth and manhood slain on Southern battle-fields were a part of the wages of this sin, and the essential wickedness has not yet been repented of—ourselves first, righteousness afterwards—therefore the deliverance does not come.

Just such a policy in the past, direct blood relation to that which our countrymen propose now to pursue, gave us Andy Johnson to rule over us. He is the fruit of that spirit, of infidelity and treason to principle. Because Baltimore was, he is, in spirit what he is and in place where he is. Ye denied the innocent and the just, and desired a murderer to be granted unto you. "Union" treason is the proper parent and procreator of disunion, treason and revolt. Lust when it hath conceived bringeth forth sin, and this sin, Copperheadism in the North and treason and rebellion in the South, lieth in large part at the door of the American Union. Copperheadism is spawn from the Republican pool, the maggot that breeds from the carrion of compromise. Andy Johnson is the judgment, the primitive visitation of Heaven upon us to-day for the sins of unfaithfulness, and should be taken as a solemn and fearful admonition against any course bearing the least of such taint in the future. What a mercy his being inflicted upon us might prove, should it be sanctified to our profit and bring us to a thorough and godly repentance !

We want protestants—men who feel the requirement of the exigency, realize the necessity of planting now upon justice and a true humanity, and will press it home unyieldingly, and *give their suffrage to nothing else.* The army of such believers in the Republican party, albeit but a small one, could revolutionize its attitude and compel the selection of such men to fill the offices as would represent the most advanced demand. A body of earnest protestants in 1864, might, had they persisted, have forced the withdrawal of Abraham Lincoln, as Thurlow Weed is reported to have said, "in forty-eight hours" (after his nomination by Baltimore), to make way for one who should more fitly represent the duty and the necessities of the hour. And such a band could work the like results among the Republican nominations to-day. But the intoxication is too deep and universal, and the protestants themselves will acquiesce in the platform and the nominations, "just for this once," join with the multitudes Congressionally to crucify Jesus, lest Andy Johnson and his troupe of camp followers come and take away our place and nation.

The current will set strong, and if possible the very elect shall be deceived. We may have civil war again, fresh flows of blood on Southern soil and on Northern too. Certainly there will be great heats and exasperations of feeling. But let us as Abolitionists keep our poise, and stand firm by the flag of Heaven. Let us abate nothing of our testimony from the rigor of the Divine requirement! The recoil will come, sooner or later, the hours of disappointment and dismay, of self-catechism and reflection. Our countrymen will still find the way of the transgressor is hard, that injustice is not under any policy a practicable thing. They will then need those who are in attitude consistently to admonish them of their wrong, to point out the beginning of the divergence, and the sole door of return. Let us live for the high destiny of Man, for the conquest and the success, the infinite future of Truth.

"One accent of the Holy Ghost
This heedless world hath never lost."

THE SOUTHERN LOYALISTS.

ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES.

The Committee of Southern Loyalists, appointed by the Convention at Philadelphia to visit the tomb of Lincoln, has issued the following address :

SPRINGFIELD, October 11.

To the Loyal People of the United States :

The undersigned members of the Committee appointed by the Convention of Southern Loyalists, lately assembled in Philadelphia, to visit the tomb of our martyred President, Abraham Lincoln, as a testimony of the admiration and affection with which the Union men of the South remember his single-hearted patriotism, have discharged that duty. The enthusiastic greetings which we received all along our route are sufficient evidence that the Union party is still intact. We return our sincere and hearty thanks for the uniform courtesy and kindness everywhere shown us, but before we separate desire to warn our countrymen of a new danger which appears to be looming up. Everywhere that we have been the loyal people who are sustaining Congress seem to be united in demanding :

First, That Andrew Johnson shall not be permitted to usurp and exercise the powers of Congress in addition to those of President.

Second, That disloyal men shall not be permitted to rule either the whole country or any part thereof ; and,

Third, That the loyal men of the South, black as well as white, shall be protected in all their rights as American citizens.

Unfortunately, however, some Republican speakers and writers, by the loose language they make use of, and their frequent declarations that if the non-reconstructed States ratify the pending Constitutional Amendment, such of their applicants as can or will take the test oath will be admitted to membership in that body, are creating the impression that the ratification of that Amendment will render any further legislation by Congress in relation to the non-reconstructed States unnecessary. If this conviction is allowed to fasten itself upon the minds of the people, it can only be removed by a long, acrimonious discussion, pending which the nation will continue to be affected with the evils which now render life in a third of the States almost intolerable.

It now requires but a few moments reflection to see that such a settlement of the reconstruction problem would convert the victory now being won at the polls into a defeat. The Constitution of the United States declares that "all legislative power shall be vested in a Congress," and "legislative power" means simply the power to make laws. The usurpation of the President consists in the fact that when, at the close of the war, he found ten States "deprived of all civil government"—there being no law upon the statute-book providing how, under such circumstances, government might be instituted—instead of calling the legislative department together in extra session to pass the necessary laws, he assumed the prerogative of Congress and prescribed the rules and regulations (claiming for them all the force and validity of regularly enacted laws) necessary for establishing civil governments in the ten States which he declared had none. It was in accordance with these illegal edicts that the tyrannical organizations claiming to be the State governments of North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi and Texas were formed, and to recognize their adoption of the Constitutional Amendment as valid, is simply to endorse and legalize the President's usurpations. Are the people willing thus to endorse the actions of President Johnson ? If not, they must firmly resolve and declare that the illegally organized tools of a usurper cannot by their action affect the Constitution of the country, and that before the non-reconstructed States can ratify the Amendment legal governments must be instituted in them.

Again, every one of the so-called governments in the ten non-reconstructed States are in the hands of and controlled by the men who attempted to destroy the nation, and are ostentatiously used to make treason honorable and loyalty odious—and in the Southern States impossible. If Congress legalizes them it perpetuates these ex-rebels in power indefinitely. They will continue to have absolute control of the governments of all or nearly all of the late slaveholding States, and will send up solid delegations to Congress of men whose sympathies were and are with the Confederate cause. Once admit that they are loyal State governments, and Congress cannot thereafter interfere in those States any more than it can now in Illinois and New York. In short, legalize those bogus governments, and ex-rebels will thereafter have absolute political control of nearly one-half the Union. If the loyal people do not wish such a state of affairs, they must never consent to the indorsement of Andrew Johnson's usurpation. Again, it is these state governments which now tyrannize over the Union men of the South, and which are being wielded so as to render our living there intolerable or impossible. Protection, either of life or property, with the State governments controlled by those now in power there is impossible. While loyal State governments can afford us protection, we solemnly warn the people that the ratification of these bogus governments is a sentence of death or exile to every Union man in the South whose position or ability renders him at all obnoxious to the late rebels. To those who are willing to tolerate for a moment the idea of abandoning their friends to destruction—of handing them over bound hand and foot into the power of their and the nation's enemies, we have not one word to say ; but to such as call themselves Union men, and have some spark of manhood or womanhood in their natures, we appeal for protection—for that protection which can alone be afforded by State governments imbued with the principles of impartial justice for all men. Shall we appeal in vain ? The action of Congress the coming Winter must answer this question.

The late rebels are of course desirous of retaining as much power in Congress as possible, but they would surrender all representation in that body rather than lose control of the State governments, for by the help of these State governments alone can they keep their people united against the General government. Representation in Congress is a side and comparatively unimportant matter, but the control of the State governments, whether or not they shall remain in the hands of those who have once used them to wage war upon the Union, is the vital question. We do not wish to have it understood that we are finding fault with the present Congress—that noble body of men, whose firmness has afforded us our only protection thus far since the war closed. It has been, and is, our expectation, that most, if not all, of the Union members intend to adopt the measures necessary to give us protection. The Reconstruction Committee, in addition to the Constitutional Amendment, reported a bill providing for the organization of loyal governments in the seceded States, and this bill has yet to be acted upon. If Congress, immediately upon reassembling, takes it up, perfects and passes it, all will be well. We have been impelled to issue this address by the fact that this bill, which is immeasurably the most important half of the Congressional plan of reconstruction, as we have understood it, is being apparently lost sight of, and the further fact that some prominent politicians have been using language which seems to commit them to an abandonment of it. We have aided thus far in the present canvass, and expect to continue, with the distinct understanding that Congress will not, after being endorsed by the people, abandon this the most important feature of its plan. We do not believe that it is either necessary or right to carry on the canvass upon a misapprehension or mystification of the issue, and feel confident that such a course would certainly lead to embarrassment, and might lead to disaster ; for although the great majority of the Union members of Congress will undoubtedly remain true, some are always anxious to obtain notoriety for being more "conservative" than their associates, and such would claim, if we keep silent, that the canvass was fought with the implied pledge that the enacting of the Constitutional Amendment was all that Congress proposed doing.

We have expressed ourselves strongly in this paper, because we feel deeply. The bones of our dead are in Southern graves. Our homes are there. All the clustering recollections of our childhood are connected with the soil from which we are called upon to exile ourselves. Men of America! we cannot reconcile ourselves to the fate in store for us, should we be deserted by you, and we will not believe that you are capable of betraying us. The ideas which we wish to have crystalized in your minds are :

1. That the usurpations of the President cannot be repudiated by legalizing them.

2. That rebels cannot be kept out of power by giving them absolute control of the late rebellious States. And,

3. That loyal men cannot be secure in any of their rights while all officers in the States where they live, from Governor down to constable, are rampant rebels.

We know that the views herein expressed are endorsed by almost all of the Union men of the South of all races ; and in order that there may be no misunderstanding as to what we wish to have done, we repeat that we ask Congress to pass a law providing for the establishment of legal civil governments in the non-reconstructed States, and that the said law shall embody the following ideas :

1. That no man who took part in the rebellion shall be permitted to vote or hold office, at least until he shall have complied with such conditions as Congress may see fit to impose.

2. That all loyal men, without respect to color or race, shall be permitted to vote.

3. That wherever it may be needed, a local military force shall be organized, consisting solely of loyal men, and that the expense of organizing, equipping and maintaining said force shall be defrayed by that portion of the community whose conduct renders its presence necessary.

Appealing to all patriots to see to it that the fruits of victory are not lost at the eleventh hour, and that those friends of the nation who most need its protection shall not be first abandoned, we respectfully submit our cause to the American people.

Albert Griffin, Ala.,
A. J. Hamilton, Texas,
J. P. Newman, D.D., La.,
W. J. Smith, Tenn.,
Jesse Stencil, Texas,
Weston Flint, Mo.,
J. H. Bingham, Ala.,
H. Boxum, Tenn.,
C. E. Moss, Mo.,
H. Branscomb, Mo.,
Geo. Tucker, Va.,
L. Sherwood, Texas,
E. J. Davis, Texas,
H. C. Warmouth, La.,
P. B. Randolph, La.

RECONSTRUCTION OF THE REBELLION.

Whatever may be the motives of President Johnson, it is clear that his policy is reviving in the South the disloyal spirit and its bitter fruits, so that instead of reconstructing the Union it is virtually reconstructing the rebellion. Liberty of speech and liberty of the press, those great bulwarks of freedom which are explicitly guaranteed in the Constitution, are denied everywhere on the theatre of the late rebellion unless defended by Federal bayonets. The lives of loyal men are not safe. Northern people are persecuted, driven out of the South and denied the right of engaging in peaceful and lawful pursuits. Instead of being so anxious to have the representatives of disloyal constituents admitted to seats in Congress, the government should see first, that the Union men of the South are admitted to *seats at their own fireside*, with none to molest or make afraid.

Under the present policy, if the Federal government intends to secure to citizens of this Republic their inalienable and constitutional rights, it must be done by military power. How much better, how much easier, how much cheaper, to do it by simply granting impartial suffrage. How much better the ballot than the bullet! The ballot is a safety-valve against political revolutions, social convulsions and bloody insurrections. Impartial suffrage, then, must be demanded, must be granted ; else, all the blood and treasure poured out in the late war are wasted.

What though Connecticut, or Illinois, or any other free State, has not yet given the ballot to her colored citizen, must the General government fail to put down rebellion until it can find a warrant for it among those dusty and lingering relics of ignorance and pro-slavery, the Blue Laws of Connecticut and the Black Laws of Illinois ? If these States were rebellious, and the number and character of the respective races inhabiting them were the same as those of the Southern States, then the Federal government could enforce impartial suffrage, even in Connecticut and Illinois.

To say nothing of the claims of gratitude and justice, impartial suffrage is needed to finish the war. The contest is not yet ended ; but the ballot in the hand of the black man would be at once the pledge and the crown of victory.

Seth Hunt.

A PARALLEL.

There are two celebrities in this republic, who, from the most humble beginnings have risen to the highest positions ever held by members of their respective races in this republic. Both were the children of parents in poor circumstances, and both may be regarded as having been born members of classes ostracised by the larger portion of the communities surrounding them. Both are distinguished by indomitable perseverance and exhaustless energy of will. Both have achieved greatness, and are indebted for their present positions mainly to their own exertions. These men are Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, and Frederick Douglass, delegate to the late Philadelphia Convention.

But with all these points of resemblance, there are nice shades of distinction to be perceived on a closer inspection of the lives of the above-named individuals. One was of confessedly humble parentage, the other was born in absolute slavery. The parents of the former were poor but honest, the latter was only connected with his father, whom he justly repudiates, by that parents crime. If the one elbowed his road into the charmed circle of Southern aristocracy, the other forced his way into liberty. If the former obtained his education without the assistance of the law, the latter achieved his in spite of the opposition of the law. If Andrew Johnson strove successfully with the trained rulers of the South and taught them practically that a mudsill could think ; Frederick Douglass has proved himself no whit his inferior, for, from the time he discomfited Mr. Brooks of the *Express* to the present, he has successfully competed with and now confessedly overthrown by logical and convincing arguments all his reasonable enemies. Even in the scene which latterly occurred at the White House, in which these two redoubtables were the main actors, it seemed as if the negro, though silenced by authority, was destined still to triumph ; for his compelled silence proved that the sword of power by which he was stricken, though potent, was incapable of receiving any polish whatever.

To conclude, the one, giddy with his exaltation, would seem to have forgotten the steps by which he mounted, and may be charged with having betrayed the confidence of his former friends, receiving in return the simulated friendship of his early aristocratic foes ; whilst the other, firm as adamant

Our Boston Correspondence.

BOSTON, October 15th, 1866.

A two days session of the New England Temperance Convention recently held in this city has greatly stirred the wrath of the Morning *Post*. It declared that the speakers at that Convention were the very expression and representation of fanaticism; that they talked with the wildest disregard of common sense or reason; that they would not tolerate liquors anywhere; that they were opposed to the use of tobacco; that they would abolish the use of wine in the Holy Sacrament; and that they denounced everybody who had any interest whatever in the legitimate trade in spirits and wines.

The clergymen who spoke in this Convention were divided in opinion respecting the propriety of making a stand against the use of intoxicating liquor in celebrating the Lord's Supper. Those, however, who opposed the substitute proposed in the Convention spoke of it more in sorrow than in anger. But the piety of the *Post* is its tender point. When you touch that, you rouse its wrath. It might bear with patience an assault on cigars and brandy and merely convivial wine; but when the traditional wine of the sacrament is objected to, impulse and principle alike impel it to the use of strong language.

The second lecture of the Fraternity course was given by G. W. Curtis of your city. He gave a very eloquent and interesting discourse on Conservatism, having much to say also of its opposite, Radicalism. Between these two he made sundry skilful antithetic points, and he declared Conservatism to be, in the United States, just what it is in Europe, hostility to equal rights. It has systematically debauched the public conscience, and has caused our political history to be mainly a struggle with the malign influences of slavery. Radicalism, on the other hand, is swiftly abolishing caste, the product of slavery, and it will frame for us a perfect and peaceful Union, built upon liberty as a cornerstone. It was noticeable, however, that Mr. Curtis made objection to some portions of the language and policy of Charles Sumner, of Wendell Phillips and of Thaddeus Stevens.

Eloquence has abounded here during the past week. Miss Anna E. Dickinson gave the opening lecture of the course under the auspices of the Bay State Division of the Sons of Temperance. Her theme was "The Rejected Stone," and she inflicted severe criticism upon the President, his chosen advisers, and the Wigwam Convention which lately met to uphold him. The audience, a very large one, gave her lecture enthusiastic applause, notwithstanding the natural disapproval of her keeping them waiting fifteen or twenty minutes beyond the appointed time. The press, as usual, thought her irony unnecessarily severe.

The Labor Reform Party held a meeting last week in Faneuil Hall, and our friend E. H. Heywood of Worcester was among the speakers. Mrs. E. H. Heywood also represented the interests of her sex in a brief address, in which she hoped that the nominee of the Working men would bestow just consideration on the claims of women in regard to employment and compensation.

Professor Agassiz has been engaged by the Boston Young Men's Christian Association to deliver two lectures on "Vegetable and Animal Life in the Amazon region." One of these, intensely interesting and valuable, was given last week, and the other is soon to follow. The same distinguished naturalist is to give twelve lectures on "Brazil" before the Lowell Institute, and the usual public notice was given that the distribution of tickets would commence at 8½ o'clock this morning, and continue daily until all were taken up. But a throng of many hundreds besieged the door before the hour of opening, and in less than an hour the applicants had received one ticket each in sufficient number to fill the spacious Hall of the Institute. No doubt these lectures will be repeated, according to the liberal provisions made by the founder of the Lowell Institute, and the same eagerness to hear them will be manifested by thrice as many more persons.

The Massachusetts State Teachers' Association has just held its twenty-second annual session here, lasting two days, and giving that amount of extra vacation to the public schools, that their teachers may attend it. For many years the tendency has been increasing to have more attention than formerly paid to physical culture in these schools; but the events of the last five years have caused the rudiments of military instruction also to be adopted in some of them. So a part of the exhibition which excited great interest on this occasion was a military review and dress prrade of about two hundred of the boys connected with the Latin and English High Schools. In the second evening session a concert was given by pupils of the grammar schools, showing a very creditable proficiency in music. The Convention closed with an excellent address by Rev. A. A. Miner, D.D., on the moral tendency in the common school system of Massachusetts.

In one of our courts, the other day, a man was fined for some violation (unspecified in the report) of the Sunday law. This reminds me that our Philadelphia neighbors are now in the heat of controversy on the "Sunday car question." There have been argued before the Supreme Court in Equity two motions for a special injunction to restrain the Union Passenger Railway Company from running its cars on Sunday. One of the specifications of complaint was the noise of the cars. On the other hand a witness for the defence testified that the carriage in which Rev. Mr. Barnes rides to church makes more noise than any street car, though it has never been objected to on that or any other ground. The decision of Judge Strong is that the act of 1794 is to be enforced, and an injunction granted to restrain the Sunday cars from running. The defendants in this case propose to carry it by appeal to a higher court.

In this city the "Sunday car question has long been settled by the claim of public convenience and utility; and the Metropolitan Railroad Company feel so secure on this ground that they do not take the trouble to show, as they might triumphantly do, that the complaints against them have no foundation either in Christianity or in the Bible, either in the Old Testament or the New. The population of Boston and the adjacent cities and towns make large use of these cars, and find them an immense advantage, alike for church-going and for other purposes; and the strictest sort of clergymen (I presume Drs. Blagden and Adams fairly represent this class) use the Sunday cars without hesitation. I had the satisfaction once of seeing a negro sitting by the former reverend gentleman in one of them; and both the parties conducted themselves *like* gentlemen.

I have heard from a clergyman who attended the "National Conference of Unitarian Churches" recently held in Syracuse, N. Y., that the greatest and best speech on the occasion was made by our eloquent friend Charles C. Burleigh, now resident at Florence, in this State. This speech was called forth by a motion, made by Rev. Francis E. Abbot of Dover, N. H., to substitute a new Preamble and first Article for those already in the Constitution of the National Conference. The form of Mr. Abbot's statement was, in my judgment, logical, beautiful and admirable. Its substance was that the churches in question "disregarding all sectarian or theological differences," offer "a cordial fellowship to all who will join them in Christian work."

This proposition gave rise to a very animated debate, which constituted the most attractive feature of the meeting. The amendment was supported by the mover, in a very able speech, by C. C. Burleigh, as I have said, and by Rev. Mr. Towne of Medford. It was, however, opposed by a large number of elder and leading men in the sect including, to the great surprise of many persons, Rev. Robert Collyer of Chicago), and was voted down by a large majority. Instead of taking the noble and truly Christian position described in this amendment, the Conference made one small step in the direction of liberality, entitling themselves the "National Conference of Unitarian *and other Christian* Churches;" the italicized words being now added.

You saw, of course, the telegraphic statement, last week, that President Johnson had proposed certain questions to the Attorney-General touching the constitutionality of the present Congress, and the Executive power of interference with it. It was not strange that our copperhead *Evening Commercial* (formerly the *Courier*) fully believed its genuineness, as everybody else did; but the characteristic course of this paper was to go immediately into the advocacy of that movement in a leading article, justify the President in undertaking to supersede and nullify Congress, and declare that the Attorney-General must necessarily answer the questions according to the obvious wish of the querist. If these questions *were* secretly thrown out by the President as a feeler by which to judge of public opinion, he now knows of one party unscrupulous enough to follow him in any measure, however unconstitutional or unjust.

NORTH.

Philadelphia Correspondence.

PHILADELPHIA, Oct. 14th, 1866.

The copperheads of this State, and especially of this city, were so confident of victory on Tuesday last, that the signal defeat they experienced is a source of keen and grievous disappointment. There is every reason to believe that they were sincere in their manifestations of assurance, and that they assumed nothing for mere effect in their buoyant attitude and sanguine speech. They gave sufficient evidence that they regarded their position as one of security, fortified by promise and flattered by hope. Their reliance was unusual, and the certainty they exhibited was the measure of the means, appliances and influence they so well knew were tributary to their endeavors. The temper of the *Age*, as shown by the following extracts from an article published three days before the election, is a good illustration of their trustful feelings. The *Age* says, "We have large accessions from the ranks of the old Republican party. There is not a man who does not know some individual who is going to vote the Democratic and Conservative ticket this Fall for the first time in his life. * * * * The patronage of the National government is in our favor. Heretofore that has been used in a most liberal and dishonest manner against us. Such men as Col. Forney and others held the rod over the office-holders, and compelled blind obedience to their dictation. This change alone will bring thousands of voters to the Democratic and Conservative parties, and make the result a certainty. * * * * There is now no fraudulent army vote for the Radicals to manipulate. During the war they gained immensely from this source. They had full and entire control of the army, and returned just what vote was necessary to suit their purposes. This spring of Radical strength is now exhausted, and this fact will tell largely in favor of Heister Clymer and the local tickets in all portions of the Commonwealth."

Evidently the "patronage of the National government" was esteemed a source of the highest comfort by the *Age* and its copperhead fraternity. With all the vigor they possessed, Andrew Johnson and his debased and shameless clan exerted themselves in debauching voters here, and by the reckless expenditure of money the coarse driver's fest, was a poor old woman, her scanty garments closely wrapped around her, and she shrunk from the cool air and the pastime insults of rude, ragged boys. She was black. Her few clothes were tidy and clean, and her wrinkled face was full of honesty, kindness and charity. There she sat, the helpless and unprotected victim of a shameful, sinful regulation, imposed by a *Christian* community. There she sat, innocently challenging our sympathy, a sad type of the inconsistency and wretched hypocrisy of those who would have nothing sacred violated, who wish to be undisturbed in their Sunday worship, but who have no appeal to make to the legal tribunal in behalf of the rights, the comfort and the welfare of this poor old colored woman. Silently yet earnestly she calls on them for aid. Her rights are denied; she is the sorrowing victim of wrong and cruel injustice. Now that these men have gained one object, let them institute another. Here is a grand opportunity for the exercise of their Christian zeal, their usefulness and love. Let them strive to sweep away this unjust, inhuman regulation. The evil is one that shocks the true sense of humanity, and cries aloud for redress. It is a shame that it should be tolerated in a community where dwell men possessed of such exalted ideas of Christian rectitude, animated by a holy desire to have all human practices conform to the strict standard, without any deviation whatever. Help, then, help! No longer let this guilty species of barbarity continue here to harrow up our souls. An end to the wickedness, speedy and forever!

W.

MRS. STANTON FOR CONGRESS.

Mrs. Stanton's card announcing herself as an independent candidate for Congress, given in THE STANDARD of last week, has been widely circulated. We print below sundry notices of the press, which show how her announcement was received.

FOR CONGRESS.

From the New York Times.

MRS. ELIZABETH CADY STANTON announces herself as a candidate for Congress in the Eighth District. She publishes her card in the ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD of this week, declaring herself to be in favor of "free speech, free press, free trade, and free men." Why she would restrict the freedom she advocates to the opposite sex, she does not explain. She desires a seat in the Fortieth Congress in order that she may have a "voice and vote for universal suffrage." We believe she has not yet received a nomination from any of the regular Conventions.

A WOMAN IN THE FIELD.

From the N. Y. Evening Post.

Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton announces to the electors of the Eighth District in this city, that she is a candidate for Congress—desiring an election "as a rebuke to the dominant party for its retrogressive legislation, in so amending the Constitution as to make invidious distinctions on the ground of sex." Of course, Mrs. Stanton is an independent candidate.

FOR CONGRESS.

From the N. Y. Express.

Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, a lady of eminent ability, offers herself as a Radical candidate for Congress, to succeed W. E. Dodge. She goes further in her Radicalism than the sitting member, inasmuch as she adds Women's Rights of suffrage to negro suffrage, and prefers her own white sex first. Perhaps the Radicals will give her the regular nomination. See her card in the "Spirit of the Press."

BROOKS SURE TO BE BEATEN.

From the N. Y. Herald.

Mr. James Brooks is to be opposed, in the Eighth District, by Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and is sure to be beaten. Besides the fact that an intelligent, handsome and educated lady like Mrs. Stanton is a far better representative of this metropolis than an old woman like Mr. Brooks, we have yet to see an American who would be ungallant enough to vote against the fair sex, and we consequently consider the Hon. Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, M. C., a future certainty. If she cannot teach our other members of Congress to talk less, she can at least show them how to talk better.

MRS. ELIZABETH CADY STANTON FOR CONGRESS.

From the N. Y. Daily News.

This lady has determined to bring the right of women to hold office to a practical issue, by offering herself as a candidate to the electors of the Eighth Congressional District of this State. She insists that sex should be no more a disqualification to vote than color, and if voting is a natural right, her argument is irresistible. She does not exactly side with either party, being with the Democrats in favor of free trade, and with their opponents in the matter of universal suffrage. She declares herself in favor of free speech, a free press and free men. She would not surely wish to emancipate the sterner sex from the bonds which are so incapable of being severed, which they wear so willingly, and which are forged by the charms of the sex to which she belongs. If she should happen to be elected, there would be a general uprising of female candidates, and they would soon become to be a majority in either House. This will lead to the necessity of an alteration in the halls of Congress, as the seats will require to be enlarged to accommodate the costume of the new members. Perhaps their advent will lead to a more strict decorum than has hitherto prevailed, and a discontinuance of the cane and the cowhide in clinching an argument.

MRS. STANTON FOR CONGRESS.

From the Brooklyn Union.

Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton has come out as a candidate for Congress in the Eighth District. She declares herself in favor of free trade and universal suffrage, and argues that though women are excluded from the ballot-box, there is no law to prevent them going to Congress if they can get elected.

MRS. ELIZABETH CADY STANTON.

From the Brooklyn Eagle.

Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton announces herself as a candidate for Congress, and solicits the support of citizens of both parties, on the ground that she does not agree with either political party. Mrs. S. had better move to Brooklyn and run against Chittenden. When dry goods meets dry goods then comes the tug of politics. A majority even of the Radicals would prefer a woman with brains to a man without.

MRS. STANTON FOR CONGRESS.

From the Springfield Republican.

Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton announces herself a candidate for Congress in the New York Eighth District. She says that, although she cannot vote, she is eligible to office, and her creed is "free press, free speech, free men and free trade." She says she particularly desires to be elected at this time "as a rebuke to the dominant party for its retrogressive legislation, in so amending the Constitution as to make invidious distinctions on the ground of sex." James Brooks has been nominated by the Democrats in the same district, and William E. Dodge will probably be renominated by the Republicans. Mrs. Stanton should challenge them to stump the district with her.

MRS. ELIZABETH CADY STANTON VERSUS THE HON. JAMES BROOKS.

From the N. Y. Herald.

That smart, intelligent, enterprising and fascinating lady, Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, is up for Congress against the Hon. James Brooks. Against such a competitor what ought Mr. Brooks to do? He is a ladies' man, and common gallantry requires his retirment in her favor.

"When there is lady in the case,
Of course all other things give place."

Mr. Brooks, then, ought to surrender gracefully and graciously in favor of the first petticoat for Congress. Why not? He did the best he could do at the last session of Congress to assist Thad Stevens in behalf of negroes rights and negro suffrage; and Mrs. Stanton will do this, if elected, with far greater ability; and in addition to this she will stir up every spark of gallantry in Congress in behalf of woman's rights and woman suffrage. Moreover, with an influential lady in the House of Representatives, the roughs of that body would no longer make it a Tammany Hall. Let Mr. Brooks retire.

MRS. ELIZABETH CADY STANTON.

From the N. Y. World.

The candidacy of Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton for Congress will give the radicals of the Eighth District a chance to show their faith by their works. Her return to the House would be the most striking proof they could give to the world of their belief in the doctrine of universal suffrage. Surely our educated, intelligent women would make better voters and legislators than the uneducated and degraded freedmen. We go Mrs. Stanton as against Dodge. She may not know as much as some men; but if she could not get the drift of public sentiment better than the old ladies of the *Herald*, she wouldn't know enough to go in when it rained.

PROPOSED GREAT POLITICAL MATINEE.

From the N. Y. Herald.

Why does not Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton call a great mass meeting of the ladies somewhere and have Anna Dickinson make a speech and address the meeting herself, and thus open the great campaign for woman's rights in a proper way? Mrs. Cady's only opponent is Mr. Brooks, who is going to run against her; but he is far too gallant to stand in the way of a lady who wants to go to Congress to make gentlemen of a set of fellows there who sadly need something of the kind.

THE manner in which the original copperheads treat the small number of Republicans who have joined them, reminds one of Lord Dundreary's excellent conundrum: "Wa-wa-why does a dog waggle his tail?" Because the dog is stronger than the tail: otherwise the tail would wa-wa-waggle the dog!"

CONGRESSIONAL NOMINATIONS.—The mention of Mr. Phillips brings me to the subject of nominations for Congress. It was probably impossible for Mr. Phillips to get the Republican nomination, even if he had desired it, but his letter to the working-men cut him off from it by placing his declination on the grounds incompatible with accepting any nomination. He would be of no use in Congress unless he should act with the Republican party, at least act with them generally. He might talk ahead of them and occasionally go ahead of them, but they would not tolerate any very eccentric movements. "Everybody is wiser than anybody." Mr. Phillips was never more eloquent or plausible than in our State Convention in 1864, yet he did not affect the purpose of a single delegate. If Mr. Sumner had continued his opposition to the Blaine amendment up to the point of opposing the one which was finally adopted, even his great strength would have been seriously diminished. Mr. Phillips thinks he would be alone in Congress, a minority of one. So he would, unless he had chosen, in entering into a party, to abandon the position of an outside reformer. The things are incompatible. John Bright has many ideas superior to Gladstone's, no doubt, but he has to act with Gladstone in the House of Commons, and is glad to do so. I have great confidence that if Mr. Phillips had got into Congress as a Republican, he would have acted so as neither to compromise his position as a reformer or his allegiance to his party, but if there is any blame for nominating another, it is due to himself and not to the voters. Mr. Twitchell is a good candidate, a wide awake, sensible, courageous man, and will represent the Third District very creditably.—"*Warrington*," in the *Springfield Republican*.

REGULAR JOHN BULL.—Thomas Carlyle says in his recent letter defending Gov. Eyre of Jamaica for his brutalities in suppressing insurrection:

"The English nation never loved anarchy; nor was wont to spend its sympathy on miserable mad seditions, especially of this inhuman and half-brutish type; but always loved order, and the prompt suppression of seditions; and reserved its tears for something worthier than promoters of such delerious and fatal enterprises who had got their wages for their sad industry!"

And yet Thomas Carlyle was the man whose sympathies were wholly given to our Southern rebels in their attempt to dismember this Union. He did not love our "order," nor take any satisfaction in our "prompt suppression of seditions"—although in the whole course of our four years' war our government never inflicted a tithe of such wanton bloodshed as Gov. Eyre dealt out in his few days' operations against the Jamaica insurrectionists. But in the latter case it was Bull's bull that did the goring—in the former, it was one of the pets of his aristocracy that sought the life of the peaceful, patient American Union. Carlyle, with all his learning, is but a magnified cockney.—ED.

LITERARY.

The Radical for October, is an excellent number. Its contents are: Ideas and Institutions, by Wm. F. Potter; Psalms and Hymns for Public Worship, by Charles K. Whipple; The Radical Dogmatics, by Henry James; The Three that bear Witness in Earth, by L. T. C. H.; Another Look at Robertson, by Robert Collyer; The Sorrow, by Myron B. Benton; John Pierpont, by the Editor; The Life of Jesus, by Strauss—Renan, Daniel Bowen; The South Retreating, by the Editor; Religious Liberty; Unitarian Fellowship and Liberty; The American Social-Science Association; Letter to Rev. James Freeman Clarke, by Samuel Johnson; Our Relations with the Spiritual World, by W. A. C.

"*The South Retreating*," by the Editor, Rev. S. H. Morse, will be found in another column. We commend it to the thoughtful consideration of our readers. Single copies of *The Radical* may be had at this office, and we have arranged to furnish copies of THE STANDARD and *The Radical* to yearly subscribers, at five dollars per year for the two, to one address.

J. E. Tilton & Co., of Boston, announce another of Mr. Edward Sprague Rand's works—"Bulbs: A Treatise on Hardy and Tender Bulbs and Tubers."

Professor Ansted is about to publish, through the Messrs. Allen, a work on Physical Geography, which will be, it is hoped by the author, as acceptable to general readers as to especial students of the science, for whom it will also form a class-book.

Advertisements.

REMOVAL NOTICE.

The office of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society has been removed from No. 5 South Fifth street, to the old stand, No. 107 North Fifth street, where it was formerly located for upwards of twenty years. Specimen numbers of the ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD furnished and new subscriptions received as above.

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AN ACCOUNT OF PREVIOUS SYSTEMS.—System of Lavater, General Rules, The Forehead, The Eyes, The Eyebrows, The Nose, The Cheeks, The Mouth, The Chin, The Forehead and Mouth, Stupidity, Folly, Sophists, Knaves, Women, Caution, The Smile, To be Avoided, Thinkers, Cautious, Manly Character. Alexander Walker's System, General Rules, The Mouth, The Nose, The Eye, The Ear, The Chin and Jaws. Dr. Redfield's System, Analysis of Man, The Twelve Qualities, Names of Physiognomical Signs according to Dr. Redfield, Classification of Faculties, Practical Examples, with Illustrations.

STRUCTURE OF THE HUMAN BODY.—The Mechanical System The Bones, The Ligaments, The Muscles, Thorax and Pelvis, Vital System, The Lymphatics, The Blood-Vessels, The Glands, The Heart, Mental System, The Organs of Sense, The Cerebrum, The Cerebellum, The Spinal Cord and its Connections, amply illustrated with Engravings.

GENERAL PRINCIPLES STATED.—Law of Correspondence, Law of Homogeneousness, Law of Special Development, Law of Quantity, Law of Quality, Law of Temperament, Law of Form, Law of Distinct Functions, Law of Latency.

THE TEMPERAMENTS DEFINED.—The Ancient Doctrine, Modifications, Brain Left Out, Dr. Spurzheim's Description, The New Classification, The Motive Temperament, The Vital Temperament, The Mental Temperament, Nervous, Bilious, Sanguine, and Lymphatic. (Illustrated.)

MAN AND WOMAN COMPARED.—Size, Venus and Apollo, General Form, Sex in the Features, Phrenological Differences, Physiognomical Distinctions, Lavater's Antitheses, Let Man be Manly and let Woman be Womanly.

GENERAL FORMS OF FACES.—The Oblong Face, The Round Face, The Pyriform Face, Profiles, Facial Angles, with illustrations, an interesting study.

OUTLINES OF MODERN PHRENOLOGY.—Phrenology Defined, As an Art, Basis, First Principles, Names, Numbers and Location of Organs, Symbolical Head, Definition of Organs, Domestic Propensities, Selfish Propensities, Aspiring and Governing Organs, Moral Sentiments, Perfective Faculties, Perceptive Faculties, Literary Faculties, Reasoning Faculties.

ANATOMY OF THE HUMAN FACE.—Framework of the Face, Muscles of the Face, Bones of the Head and Face, Sinuses of the Face, Muscles of the Eye and Eyebrows.

THE HUMAN CHIN, WHAT IT INDICATES.—Chin and Cerebellum, Love or Amativeness, Chins Classified, The Pointed Chin, The Indented Chin, The Narrow Square Chin, The Broad Square Chin, The Broad Round Chin, Will or Determination, Scorn and Contempt, Economy Indicated in the Chin.

THE JAWS AND THE TEETH.—Comparative Anatomy, Heads of the Wolf and the Sheep Compared, A Sign of Animality, The Jaws and Diet, Destructiveness, Love of Overcoming, Signs of Physical Degeneracy.

THE HUMAN MOUTH INDICATES CHARACTER.—The Mouth Tells Tales, General Remarks, The Lips and the Affections, Philosophy of Kissing, Friendship, Hospitality, Love in the Lips, Jealousy, The Lips of Contempt, Approbativeness, Love of Distinction, Firmness and Self-Esteem, Gravity and Gloominess, Mirthfulness, Animals and Savages, Complacency, Self-Control, Enjoyment, Dissatisfaction and Hate, Other Signs.

ALL ABOUT NOSES, WITH ILLUSTRATIONS.—Some General Remarks, The Nose as a Sign of Development, Noses Classified, the Roman Nose, Executiveness, The Greek Nose, Refinement, The Jewish Nose, Commercialism, the Snub Nose, Undevelopment, The Celestial Nose, Inquisitiveness, Tristram Shandy on the Nose, What is a Cogitative Nose, The Apprehensive Nose, The Inquisitive Nose, A Toper's Nose, Combative Noses, The Defensive Nose, The Irritable Nose, The Aggressive Nose, Contrasted Noses, The Baneful Nose, Memory of Names, Intellectual Noses, Front Views, Secretive Nose, The Confiding Nose, Acquisitive Nose, The Economical Nose, Feminine Noses, National Noses, The American Nose, The German Nose, The English Nose, The Irish Nose, The French Nose, Miscellaneous National Noses, Indian Noses, Negro Noses, Mongolian Nose, Noses of the Pacific Islanders, Noted Noses, Photographed Noses, The Noses of Sculpture, Lord Brougham's Nose, Some Poetical Noses, A Double Nose, The end of the Nose.

ABOUT THE EYES—LANGUAGE, COLOR, AND CHARACTER.—Size of the Eye, Prominence of the Eye, Language, Width of the Eyes, Impressibility, The Uplifted Eye, Prayerfulness, The Downcast Eye,

Miscellaneous Department.

THE STATESMAN.

Say shall his memory lie in state—
A thing of reverence and awe—
Who was unprofitably great—
Who knew no law
Save that his pride upreared—who sold
To sin the power that wisdom brings,
The sceptre mightier than a king's,
For praise and gold.

No! let the humbler felon go,
But still He lives—the god-like fire
Of that great soul, though dim and low,
Cannot expire;
And let the expiation be,
Even as the crime immortal is;
The Grave may not, for sin like his,
Be sanctuary!

By all the evil that he did—
By all the good he left undone—
By all the glory that he hid—
The shame he won—
The indignation of his verse
On him let the true poet wreak—
Of him the just historian speak,
And speak a curse!

MEDUSA.

Say not that I, to this despair
With artful smiles have guided thee!
Is it my fault that I am fair?
Art thou to blame that I am free?

I knew not that thou could'st not look
On me and live: lo, I can shut
Our friendship, as I would a book!
Lo, I can trample it under foot!

I wrong thee not. No more! Arise!
I am Medusa unto thee;
I smite thee with my placid eyes,
But curse thy destiny, not me!

FATE.

These withered hands are weak,
But they shall do my bidding, though so frail;
These lips are thin and white, but shall not fail
The appointed words to speak.

Thy sneer I can forgive
Because I know the strength of destiny;
Until my task is done I cannot die,
And then I would not live.

[We have heard that this won for its author the respect of Emerson, of whom in the strangeness and depth of its truth it is not unworthy.]

THE STARS.

"Oh swift and proud!" cried I aloud
With breaking heart in tones forlorn,
"By the solemn songs ye sing,
By life and death, and love their king,
I conjure ye to answer me,—
The night is long; whence comes the morn?"

And sang the stars, in deeps of heaven,
With voices full of stately scorn,
"How shall we answer thee, who move
In regions thy pale sphere above?
What is life, and what is death,
And who is love?
We dwell in light, and day or night
We know not—know not eve or morn."

—*Dorgan's "Studies."*

THE SCIENTIFIC SHOEMAKER.

BY PROF. A. D. HAGER.

While it is eminently proper for contributors to the *Record* to pay a just tribute to the memory of those who have passed away from us in the possession of great moral worth or eminent abilities, it is equally appropriate to speak of the living, especially when the example is such as to induce a better state of society, or give encouragement to others in the pursuit of knowledge.

For these reasons we propose to give some of the circumstances attending the life of a modest and unassuming man, who is justly entitled to the name which he enjoys in the village where he resides—"The Scientific Shoemaker." His contributions to science, and especially to the science of Botany, have introduced him to the acquaintance of most scientific men in New England, and few, if any, names are reckoned better authority in the department of Botany than that of Charles C. Frost, of Brattleboro, Vt. Middlebury and Dartmouth Colleges have each, in appreciation of his valuable contributions to science, conferred on him the honorable degree of Master of Arts, and the Boston Natural History Society has enrolled him on its list of Corresponding Members. His advantages for acquiring an education were quite limited and his early attainments must have been quite incomplete, for at the age of fourteen, with the scanty information acquired at a common school, he was apprenticed to the shoemaking business which he has ever since followed. He possessed an ardent love for study, and about the time of his apprenticeship obtained a copy of "Hutton's Mathematics," of which he became perfect master without the aid of a teacher. His thirst for knowledge turned his mind to the study of Astronomy, Philosophy, Geology and Mineralogy. He succeeded in acquiring a tolerable knowledge of these sciences. His devotion to study and his close application to business, made sad inroads upon his health, and at the age of forty he found himself an invalid, with dyspepsia and its attendant evils closely fastened upon him and rendering it impossible for him to attend to his business. After trying in vain to obtain the panacea that should restore him again to health, he visited an eminent physician in New York as the *dernier resort*. He called at the office of the physician, and while waiting till two or three had reached the place before him, were examined, he observed some house-plants in the window of the office, and to pass the time, stepped up to notice the various kinds of flowers upon them.

When his turn came, the physician, after instituting many inquiries, asked him if he was fond of flowers and had a knowledge of Botany, to which Mr. Frost replied that he had a fondness for any of the works of Nature, but knew but very little of Botany. Upon this the physician advised him to return home and make it a point to collect one flower a day during the ensuing spring and summer, and when collected he was to put it with its name into a book. He remarked, "Your health and strength will probably return to you in proportion to the distance you will be obliged to go to obtain the new flower, after you have gathered them awhile." He gave no medicine, and the above was the only prescription which he made.

Mr. Frost left the office greatly disappointed and mortified at the thought of going so far, and incurring so much expense for so simple, and as it appeared to him, so worthless a prescription. At times he queried whether the man was not an imposter, but his reputation as a skillful practitioner was too well established to suffer a thought of this kind to remain long in his mind, nor could he believe that the physician intended it for a "sell," therefore he determined to carry out fully the instructions which he had received.

He returned home, picked his first flower, named and pressed it, and felt no worse. He soon obtained an elementary work on Botany, and before the frosts of Winter came to cut down the remaining flowers, Mr. Frost had daily plucked his flower, given it its proper name and place, and what was more, he had in a great measure regained his health, and obtained a tolerable knowledge of Botany. With the return of Spring, the benefits obtained the previous year prompted him to renew his investigations in the field, and he was surprised at the great number of plants that had previously escaped his observation. He soon found plants not described as indigenous to Vermont, and subsequently discovered those not described in any American work. This somewhat embarrassed him, but when he had submitted the fact to his cotemporaries, and they gave him credit for discovering new species, the inward satisfaction that ever glows in the heart of a naturalist when conscious of having contributed one new truth to science, awakened in his mind pleasant emotions, gave him strength and made him more zealous in his search than before.

His examinations were not restricted to the field of ordinary Botany, but extended to the study of Mosses, Lichens and Fungi. He made collections of these, but when he attempted to determine their species, he found no American work that sufficiently described them to suit his purpose. In his studies he had seen reference made to foreign works as "Fries System a mycologicum," "Albertini & Schweinitz Conspectus Fungorum," "Acharius methodus qua omnes delectos Lichenes," and others, and hoping to get new light from them, sent to Europe and procured some of those which he suspected might be of the greatest service to him. In due time the works arrived, when lo! they were all written in Latin! In order that they might become available to him he must first learn the Latin language. At the age of forty-five most men would have considered this too great a task to commence; but the desire to know the contents of those dearly bought books was a sufficient incentive in this instance to induce the undertaking, which was soon so far accomplished as to enable him to pursue his studies in the Latin language. A knowledge of the Latin aided him so much that he soon commenced the study of Greek, and became sufficiently acquainted with it to understand generally the meaning of words derived from that language, especially the generic names found in scientific works.

As he continued his researches, he again felt the want of books for reference and determined to send to Europe again for others, among which he wanted "Rabenhorst's Deutschland Kryptogamen Flora" and "Nees ab Esenbek Das System der Pilze und Schwamme"—and notwithstanding he feared the contents might not be in Latin or English he ordered them. The books arrived written in the German language! Again he applied himself to the grammar of a new language and again he was victorious and amply repaid for his mental efforts.

In collecting specimens of fungi, mosses and flowers, he came in contact with insects which arrested his attention, and after having studied their history in such works on Entomology as he could find in this country, he again ordered foreign works among which were "Serville's Orthoptores" and "Ehrenbergs Infusores" all of which were written in French!

This fact did not discourage the man, who during the past five years had found time, in addition to carrying on an extensive boot and shoe business, to acquire a sufficient knowledge of the Latin and German to study text books in those languages, hence he obtained a French Dictionary and Grammar and at the age of fifty commenced the study of a new language of which he soon became master.

Since that time, during the past eight years, he has steadily pursued his studies, appropriating at least one hour each day to the pursuit of some scientific treatise, and as the legitimate result, he has become not only thoroughly informed in all the details of Botany but conversant with nearly every other branch of Natural history. He has made good collections of plants, mosses, fungi and insects, all of which are appropriately classified and named. In conversation with him one becomes greatly interested and encouraged by the recital of what he has done and it was with hope that some might take courage from the example of this remarkable man that we venture to bring his name before the public and allude to some of the prominent circumstances of his eventful life.—*Vermont Record.*

JOANNA BAILLIE.

From John Neal's racy and gossipping paper on the London of forty years ago, in the August number of the *Atlantic Monthly*, we take the following account of a visit to the author of De Montford.

"Here," said Lady Bentham, wife of Gen. Sir Samuel Bentham, the originator of that Panopticon, which was the germ of all our prison discipline and penitentiary improvements, the world over—"here is an autograph you will think worth having, I am sure, after what I have heard you say of the writer, and of her tragedies, and I want you to see her;" handing me, as she spoke, the following brief note, written upon a bit of paper about six inches by four:

"If you are perfectly disengaged this evening, Agnes and I will have the pleasure of taking tea with you, if you give us leave. J. BAILLIE."

Now, if there was a woman in the world I wanted to see, or one that I most heartily reverenced, it was Joanna Baillie. Her *De Montfort* I had always looked upon as one of the greatest tragedies ever written, equal to anything of Shakspeare's for strength of delineation, simplicity, and effect, however inferior it might be in the superfluities of genius, in the overcharge of character and passions, we find so much of in Shakspeare; and, on the whole, not unlike that wonderful Danish Drama, *Dyrekr*, or a part of "Wallenstein."

My great desire was now to be satisfied. We met, and I passed one of the pleasantest evenings of my life with *Mrs.* Baillie, as they called her, now, Lady Beutham, her most intimate if not her oldest friend, and "sister Agnes."

I found her wholly unlike the misrepresentations I had seen of her. She was rather small, though far from being diminutive like her sister Agnes, with a charming countenance, full of placid serenity, almost Quakerish, beautiful eyes, and gray hair, almost white indeed, combed smoothly away from her forehead. We talked freely together, avoiding the shop, and the impression she left upon my mind was that of a modest, unpretending gentlewoman, full of quiet strength and shrewd pleasantry, with a Scottish flavor, but altogether above being brilliant or showy, even in conversation with a stranger and an author. She questioned me closely about my country and about the people, and appeared to take much interest in our doings and prospects. Her sister Agnes never opened her mouth, to the best of my recollection and belief, though she listened, with her eyes and ears, to the conversation, and appeared to enjoy it exceedingly, and as for Lady Bentham, though a clever woman of large experience and great resources, such was her self-denial and her generous admiration of the "queenly stranger," as I had called her friend in sport, remembering how it was applied to the magnificent Siddons, when she represented Jane de Montfort, that she did nothing more than what was calculated to bring out her friend to advantage. There was nothing said, however, from which a person unacquainted with the writings of Joanna Baillie would have inferred her true character; no flashing lights, no surprises, no thunderbursts. The conversation was, at the best, but sociable and free, as if we were all of the same neighborhood or household; but knowing her by her great work on the Passions, I was profoundly impressed, nevertheless, and left her well satisfied with her revelations of character.

OCTOBER.

Our vale is wrapped in purple mist—
Is it from grapes the sun has kissed,
Or Heaven dropping amethyst?

I hear no bird-note in the air—
Deep quiet reigneth everywhere—
Autumn—mild matron—rests from care.

Rest to my heart this dear month brings—
And though no bird in tree-top sings,
Yet ever in my ear there rings

The music of a gentle tone,
Bearing to our dear Father's throne,
Its supplications and my own. IONE.

Young Men in Different Countries.—Edmund About, in his book, "The Roman Question," makes the following comparison of young men of twenty-five in different countries. After describing the education of young Roman nobles, he says, in this flashy way;

"One fine day they attain their twenty-fifth year. At this age an American has already tried his hand at a dozen different trades, made four fortunes, and at least one bankruptcy, has gone through a couple of campaigns, had a lawsuit, established a new religious sect, killed half a dozen men with his revolver, freed a negress, and conquered an island. An Englishman has passed some stiff examinations, been attached to an embassy, founded a factory, coverted a Catholic, gone round the world, and read the complete works of Walter Scott. A Frenchman has rhymed a tragedy, written for two newspapers, been wounded in three duels, twice attempted suicide, vexed fourteen husbands, and changed his politics nineteen times. A German has thrashed fifteen of his dearest friends; swallowed sixty hogsheads of beer, and the philosophy of Hegel, sung eleven thousand couplets, compromised a tavern waiting-maid, smoked a million pipes, and been mixed up with at least two revolutions.

"The Roman prince has done nothing, seen nothing, learned nothing, loved nothing, suffered nothing. His parents or guardians open a cloister gate, take out a young girl as inexperienced as himself, and the pair of innocents are bidden to kneel before a priest, who gives them permission to become parents of another generation of innocents like themselves."

People boast of success—even the smallest; but we learn wisdom from failure much oftener than from success. "Often," says a philosophical writer, "we discover what *will* do, by finding out what will not do. He who never made a mistake probably never made a discovery."

FOR THE STANDARD.

THE RILL.

I could die as dies the river,
In that current deep and wide;
I would live as live its waters,
Flashing from a stronger tide!
—*Elizabeth H. Whittier.*

Thou most unselfish heart!
My parable shall prove
How such unselfishness alone
Can win devoted love.

Sang valley Brook to Rill—
"Turn hither, Rill, with me;
We'll revel here among the flowers,
And 'scape yon greedy sea.

"The River heeds thee not;
Ere he and Ocean meet,
A thousand thousand such as thou
Are wasted at his feet."

Yet still the Rill sang on:
"O River, grand and sweet,
I am content to pour my life
In music at thy feet!

"No meaner joys be mine;
No selfish brook for me;
Thy generous tide glads all the land—
Oh! might I gladden thee!"

Boston, Mass. KATY CARLISLE.

AN INCIDENT IN THE LIFE OF JOHN RANDOLPH.

From a very interesting article in the *North American Review* on John Randolph, we make the following extract, which is timely at this season, when "dead ducks" and "dead dog" are epithets which are hurled from high places. We much prefer that plain language should be regarded contemptuous, than to see coarseness and vulgarity become the rule rather than the exception:

"Nothing throws such light upon the state of things in the United States in 1800, as the once famous collision between these two natural tories. John Adams and John Randolph, which gave instantaneous celebrity to the new member, and made him an idol of the Republican party. In his maiden speech, which was in opposition to a proposed increase of the army, he spoke disparagingly of the troops already serving, using the words *ragamuffins* and *mercenaries*. In this passage of his speech, the partisan spoke, not the man. John Randolph expressed the real feeling of his nature toward soldiers, when, a few years later, on the same floor, he said: 'If I must have a master, let him be one with epaulets: something which I can look up to; but not a master with a quill behind his ear.' In 1800, however, it pleased him to style the soldiers of the United States ragamuffins and mercenaries, which induced two young officers to push, hustle and otherwise discommode and insult him at the theatre. Strange to relate, this hot Virginian, usually so prompt with a challenge to mortal combat, reported the misconduct of these officers to the President of the United States. This eminently proper act he did in an eminently proper manner, thanks to his transient connection with the Republican party. Having briefly stated the case, he concluded his letter to the President thus: 'The independence of the Legislature has been attacked, and the majesty of the people, of which you are the principal representative, insulted and your authority contemned. In their name I demand that a provision commensurate with the evil be made, and which will be calculated to deter others from any future attempt to introduce the reign of terror into our country. In addressing you in this plain language of man, I give you, sir, the best proof I can afford of the estimation in which I hold your office and your understanding; and I assure you with truth, that I am, with respect, your fellow-citizen, John Randolph.'

"This language so well accords with our present sense of the becoming, that a person unacquainted with that period would be unable to point to a single phrase calculated to give offense. In the year 1800, however, the President of the United States saw in every expression of the letter contemptuous and calculated insult. 'The majesty of the people,' forsooth! The President merely their 'representative!' 'plain language of man!' and 'with respect your fellow-citizen!' To the heated imaginations of the Federalists of 1800, language of this kind, addressed to the President, was simply prophetic of the guillotine. So amazed and indignant was Mr. Adams, that he actually submitted the letter to his Cabinet, requesting their opinion as to what should be done with it. Still more incredible is it, that four members of the Cabinet, in writing, declared their opinion to be, that 'the contemptuous language therein adopted requires a public censure.' They further said, that, 'if such addresses remain unnoticed, we are apprehensive that a precedent will be established which must necessarily destroy the ancient, respectable and urbane usages of this country.' Some lingering remains of good sense in the other member of the Cabinet prevented the President from acting upon their advice; and he merely sent the letter to the House, with the remark that he 'submitted the whole letter and its tendencies' to their consideration, 'without any other comments on its matter and style.'

"This affair, trivial as it was, sufficed in that mad time to lift the young member from Virginia into universal notoriety, and caused him to be regarded as a shining light of the Republican party."

Initial Facts in Our History.—Our children are taught French, moral science, and conic sections, and read history of Greece and Rome. How few of them, and how few men and women, know anything of the history of their own country, except an outline of a few detached facts! How few under-graduates know that Columbus undertook his first voyage in the expectation of finding the great Kahn of Tartary! that he set sail on Friday, 1492—that unlucky and direful day—and on Friday, ten weeks after, he discovered land; that he supposed Cuba to be the Continent; that he first reached the continent on the North coast of South America six years afterwards; that upon his fourth and last voyage he founded the first colony on the mainland on the Isthmus of Panama; that twenty-one years after the first discovery, the Old World was astonished to find they had discovered a New World, when they reached the Pacific across the Isthmus; but that Cabot, an Englishman, reached the shores of New England a full year before Columbus touched the continent; that San Augustine, Florida, is the oldest town in America, being just 300 years old; that Santa Fe, New Mexico, is the second town in point of age; that twenty years later—1602—California was discovered and explored; that in 1603 a Frenchman, Sieur de Monts, made the first settlement North of San Augustine, at Annapolis, and twice attempted a settlement at Cape Cod, but was driven off by the natives; that Champlain founded Quebec in 1608; that our coast from Pennsylvania to New Brunswick was named Acadia, afterwards New France; that Canada formerly comprehended our Vermont and New York; that Virginia was so named by Sir Walter Raleigh, in honor of Queen Elizabeth, in 1584, when he made his exploration of the North Carolina coast; that the first English child born in America was Virginia Dare, daughter of Ananinus; that the projected colony failed; that Jamestown was the first English town in America, began 1607, and named for James I; that the want of wives in Virginia was so great that in 1621 a large number of young women, "of good character," were transported to the colony on speculation, and sold to the lonely settlers for a hundred and twenty to a hundred and fifty pounds of tobacco each; that New England was so named by John Smith, 1614; that at length a settlement was made, without a grant from the King's council, at New Plymouth, and sent its roots deep and wide into the scanty soil by a band of 102 passengers, Dec. 11, 1620, who came in a small craft, whose name has been spoken from the occident to the orient, to wit:—the "Mayflower."

Description of Vienna.—A foreign correspondent writes: "Although Vienna is already a vast city of nearly thirteen miles circumference, yet the amount of improvement and building that is going forward is very great. The old city or Stadt is about three miles in circumference, and was built chiefly in the middle ages, and was, consequently, densely packed together within a wall that was erected for defense. It is a curious old honeycomb, that old city. The steeets run crowdedly about; they are generally only from twelve to twenty feet wide, often not more than eight: the houses tower many stories high, and away down between them the sun is scarcely ever seen. Hundreds of houses are built entirely over the street, so that carriages drive directly through the house, as it were, under arched ways, long and narrow and dark. Gas burns here day and night. It is surprising what a limited extent of room a poor family will occupy, the tradesman working in the same room occupied by his family. Here you are shaved for two and a quarter cents, your boots are mended for five cents, you make a substantial dinner of soup, beef, potatoes, and pudding for fourteen cents, and so forth. The same pavement of solid, square stones extends all the way across the street, and you walk in the middle or at the side, as you can find room among the rattling carriages. You seldom enter a hotel or a store, or a large private dwelling, from the front, but go in the coach way, which leads into the inner court, and turn to the right or left."

A HINT TO TRAVELLERS.

Well, I thought to myself, here I am in a foreign country; let me have my eyes about me, and take it all in. It already looked and felt a great deal colder than it had in New England, as we might have expected it would. I realized fully that I was four degrees nearer the pole, and shuddered at the thought; and I wondered if it were possible that the peaches might not be all gone when I returned. It was an atmosphere that made me think of the fur trade, which is so interesting a department in Canada, for I had for a head covering a thin palm-leaf hat without lining, that cost twenty-five cents, and over my coat one of those unspeakably cheap, as well as thin, brown linen sacks of the Oak Hall pattern, which every Summer appeared all over New England thick as the leaves upon the trees. It was a thoroughly Yankee costume, which some of my fellow-travellers wore in the cars to save their coats a dusting. I wore mine, at first because it looked better than the coat it covered, and last, because two coats were warmer than one, though one was thin and dirty. I never wear my best coat on a journey, though perchance I could show a certificate to prove that I have a more costly one at least at home, if that were all that a gentleman required. It is not wise for a traveller to go dressed. I should no more think of it than of putting on a clean dicky and blacking my shoes to go a-fishing; as if you were going out to dine, when, in fact, the genuine traveller is going out to work hard, and fare harder,—to eat a crust by the wayside whenever he can get it. Honest travelling is about as dirty work as you can do, and a man needs a pair of overalls for it. As for blacking my shoes in such a case, I should as soon think of blacking my face. I carry a piece of tallow to preserve the leather and keep out the water, that's all; and many an officious shoe-black, who carried off my shoes when I was slumbering, mistaking me for a gentleman, has had occasion to repent it before he produced a gloss on them.

My pack, in fact, was soon made, for I keep a short list of those articles which, from frequent experience, I have found indispensable to the foot-traveller; and, when I am about to start, I have only to consult that, to be sure that nothing is omitted, and, what is more important, nothing superfluous inserted. Most of my fellow-travellers carried carpet-bags or valises. Sometimes one had two or three ponderous yellow valises in his clutch, at each hitch of the cars, as if we were going to have another rush for seats; and when there was a rush in earnest, and there were not a few, I would see my man in the crowd, with two or three affectionate lusty fellows along each side of his arm, between his shoulder and his valises, which last held them tight to his back, like the nut on the end of a screw. I could not help asking in my mind, What so great cause for showing Canada to those valises, when perhaps your very nieces had to stay at home for want of an escort? I should have liked to be present when the custom-house officer came aboard of him, and asked him to declare upon his honor if he had anything but wearing apparel in them. Even the elephant carries but a small trunk on his journeys. The perfection of travelling is to travel without baggage. After considerable reflection and experience, I have concluded that the best bag for the foot-traveller is made with a handkerchief, or, if he study appearances, a piece of stiff brown paper, well tied up, with a fresh piece within to put outside when the first is torn. That is good for both town and country, and none will know but you are carrying home the silk for a new gown for your wife, when it may be a dirty shirt. A bundle which you can carry literally under your arm, and which will shrink and swell with its contents. I never found the carpet-bag of equal capacity, which was not a bundle of itself.

We styled ourselves the Knights of the Umbrella and the Bundle; for wherever we went, whether to Notredame or Mount Royal, or the Champ-de-Mars, to the Town Major's or the Bishop's Palace, to the Citadel, with a bare-legged Highlander for our escort, or to the Plains of Abraham, to dinner or to bed, the umbrella and the bundle went with us; for we wished to be ready to digress at any moment. We made our home nowhere in particular, but everywhere where our umbrella and bundle were. It would have been an amusing circumstance if the Mayor of one of those cities had politely asked us where we were staying. We could only have answered, that we were staying with his honor for the time being. I was amused when, after our return, some green ones inquired if we found it easy to get accommodated; as if we went abroad to get accommodated, when we can get that at home.—*H. D. Thoreau.*

THE LOVED NOT LOST.

BY JOHN G. WHITTIER.

"How strange it seems with so much gone
Of life and love, to still live on!
Ah, brother, only I and thou
Are left of all that circle now,—
The dear home faces whereupon
That fitful firelight paled and shone,
Henceforward, listen as we will,
The voices of that hearth are still;
Look where we may the wide earth o'er
Those lighted faces shine no more.
We tread the paths their feet have worn,
We sit beneath their orchard trees,
We hear hke them the hum of bees
And rustle of the bladed corn;
We turn the pages that they read,
Their written words we linger o'er
But in the sun they cast no shade,
No voice is heard, no sign is made,
No step is on the conscious floor!
Yet love will dream, and faith will trust
Since he who knows our need is just,
That somehow somewhere meet we must.
Alas for him who never sees
The stars shine through his cypress trees!
Who, hopeless, lays his dead away,
Nor looks to see the breaking day
Across the mournful marble play!
Who hath not learned in hours of faith,
The truth to flesh and sense unknown,
That Life is ever Lord of Death,
And love can never lose its own!

Never too Old to Learn.—Socrates, at an extreme age, learned to play on musical instruments.

Cato, at eighty years of age, thought proper to learn the Greek language.

Plutarch, when between seventy and eighty, commenced the study of Latin.

Boccaccio was thirty-five years of age when he commenced his studies in polite literature; yet he became one of the three great masters of the Tuscan dialect. Dante and Petrarch being the other two.

Sir Henry Spelman neglected the sciences in his youth, but commenced the study of them when he was between fifty and sixty years of age. After this time he became a most learned antiquarian and lawyer.

Colbert, the famous French minister, at sixty years of age, returned to his Latin and law studies.

Ludovico, at the great age of one hundred and fifteen, wrote the memoirs of his own times. A singular exertion, noticed by Voltaire, who was himself one of the most remarkable instances of the progressing of age in new studies.

Ogilby, the translator of Homer and Virgil, was unacquainted with Latin and Greek till he was past the age of fifty.

Franklin did not fully commence his philosophical pursuit till he had reached his fiftieth year.

Accorso, a great lawyer, being asked why he began the study of law so late, answered that indeed he began it late, but he could therefore master it the sooner.

Dryden, in his sixty-eighth year, commenced the translation of the Iliad; and his most pleasing productions were written in his old age.

"Our Rights."—The following conversation occurred at Normandy, Tennessee, between a Confederate prisoner, captured at Knoxville, and the correspondent of a Northern paper:

"Are you going to take the oath?"

"No; I'll rot in prison first."

"What are you fighting for?"

"Our rights."

"What are your rights?"

"Well"—hesitating, and attempting to clear his throat—"well, I can't exactly tell yer; the fact is, I can't read; but there's them that *does* know."—*Frank Moore's "Anecdotes of the War."*

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